

Right NOW!



ISSUE 13

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**Legal actions –
Martin Mears’
tempestuous year**

**Tax revolution the
only solution !**

**The case for
capital punishment**

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Cold Lazarus ✦ Housewife hosanna ✦ Thoughtcrime in Canada

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Time for a new social conservatism

The official yearly police figures released on 25 September were bad news for society – and for the government. The figures showed a general increase of 10.3% in crimes of violence, the largest increase in eight years, including a 14% increase in rape and an increase of 15% in life-threatening assaults. There are now three times as many domestic assaults as there were in 1981. There has also been a 15% increase in robberies (mostly muggings).

The police statistics coincided with the publication of the biennial *British Crime Survey*, an estimate of underlying trends based on household interviews, and including unreported crimes. The *British Crime Survey* confirmed the underlying increase in the number of crimes, and violent crime in particular, which cynics often suspect is the reality hidden behind annual figures showing short-term, localised decline in certain types of crime, often only immediately after short-term, large-scale police operations. The authors of the *Survey* estimate that the police figures understated violent crime by some 17% and that there were four times as many crimes as the police figures showed – although it did confirm that the number of burglaries and car thefts is still falling.

Although the survey found that people were now generally less afraid of crime, this is only relatively speaking, and the inchoate public consciousness that we are living in an ever-more violent and barbarous age is both accurate and full of significance. The public still has a moral sense, despite the secularisation of the churches, the *trahison des clercs* and our national lack of nerve. This moral sense needs to be satisfied, although it must never be satisfied at the expense of justice for individuals. Preoccupied with fighting the good fight on the economic front, the government seemed to

have simply forgotten about the rest of society until very recently. It simply has not done enough to rid the legal system of the superannuated beatniks who prefer criminals to victims and vice to virtue. It is astounding that a Conservative government still permits violent criminals to leave prison for days out or to go on safari, that it does not make prisons genuinely punitive, or demand some kind of restitution from criminals in the form of work, and that it does not execute some of the very worst and most-violent criminals, whose horrendous crimes deserve the ultimate punishment. Mr Howard's recent manoeuvrings are spirited and welcome, but insufficient.

Our unwillingness or inability to deal with crime stems originally from the liberal doctrine of man's perfectability, and the related idea that crime is often excusable for social reasons, such as the criminal being unemployed, or 'having no opportunities'. These ideas are widespread in academia and the arts, and in the media, and so have filtered into the legal profession. As we have become divorced from moral concepts, and even from the lessons of history – thanks to the debasement of education – we are becoming not just unwilling, but actually unable, to distinguish right from wrong. Our generosity – or ignorance – has sent a strong negative signal not just to the natural criminal fraternity that resides in every state, but also to the basest human instincts and proclivities, which are always simmering away just below the surface, and which are now breaking through that surface more and more often, and for longer periods. It is time that the Government began to gird itself for a post-Thatcher crusade; it is time for a new, social conservatism that can preserve the very soul of Britain, and the essence of our great and gentle civilisation.

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Thieves falling out

Margaret Boyle, 43, sued her employers for sexual discrimination, on the grounds that she was paid less during her maternity leave than she should have been. Her sexist employer is the Equal Opportunities Commission. (*Daily Telegraph*, 12th September 1996)

O, brave new world!

Respected American academics Laura Lederer and Richard Delgado, in their latest book, *The Price We Pay*, explained their rationale thus: "Nineteenth-century concepts of freedom of expression [are] behind us... Formulations that worked for the white male-dominant society of the past are failing us in the present". (Submitted by an American subscriber)

Ego-massaging skills

Applicants to Anglia College with poor qualifications can now earn 5 points (equivalent to a top grade A level) for both "working with others skills" and "improving own learning and performance skills". (Campaign for Real Education Newsletter, April 1996)

If at first you don't succeed...

Islington teachers who have not taught their pupils how to read during term time were paid up to £150 per day to try again during the holiday period. (Campaign for Real Education Newsletter, August 1996)

Young Turquoises

"Green Tories" could have a new party after the next election. The Campaign for Political Ecology, a group which broke away from the Green Party after it voted against having a single leader, said that the "Conserver Party" would "marry the best of the old conservative tradition to the tradition of political ecology". (*Daily Telegraph*, 6th September 1996)

Chilli reception

Software publisher Microsoft received bad press when they published a Spanish-language thesaurus in the Mexican version of their word-processing package. 'Woman' was translated as *doncella* (meaning 'virgin' or 'servant'); 'homosexual' as "perverted and deviant", 'Westerner' as "a European, Aryan, white,

civilised and cultured" and 'Indian' as "man-eater, savage, barbarian and kaffir". (*Personal Computer World*, September 1996)

Tories?

"They are classic liberals in the 19th century sense...they are individualist and very internationalist. They marvel at the globalisation of capital. They are

was finally expelled. The boy's father reacted by threatening to "kneecap" the headmistress and wreck her car. (The council now pays £6,000 a year to have the child taught at home.) (*Sunday Times*, 15th September 1996)

Tinkering around

The Northern Ireland Office is supporting the foundation of a Northern Ireland Commission for

harassment by his school in Lexington, North Carolina, after kissing a fellow pupil on the cheek, after she had asked him to. Prevette missed a painting lesson, playtime and a party for pupils with good attendance records, and was made to work alone in a room for the day. The six-year old's reaction is not recorded. (*Daily Telegraph*, 26th September 1996)

VIGNETTES

not as rooted to the culture of the nation state as senior Conservatives might be... they promise a world of unprecedented material and conditional liberation" - from a recent survey of 300 Conservative graduates. (*Daily Telegraph*, 30th August 1996)

Mass protest

"More than a few viewers" found Persil washing powder advertisements offensive, concluded the Independent Television Commission, after receiving complaints about "racial metaphors" in the advertisements, which show a white horse breaking away from black horses and a Dalmatian dog shaking off its black spots. Although the ITC rejected allegations of deliberate racism on the part of the company, Persil said it would "reconsider the images". The number of viewers who had complained? 32. (*Daily Telegraph*, 28th August 1996)

Enigma variation

City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra conductor, Simon Rattle, commissioned by Channel 4 to make a series about 20th century composers, has included Bartok, Stockhausen and Takemitsu, but omitted Edward Elgar, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Frederick Delius and Percy Grainger, because they were "not progressive enough". "The composers were chosen for their contribution to the advancement of modern music, rather than their popularity" said a Channel 4 spokesman. (*Sunday Times*, 15th September 1996)

Chip off the old block

A five year old boy, who repeatedly hit, punched and kicked staff and pupils at an Essex school

Racial Equality, primarily to "benefit" 10,000 Irish travellers (who are obviously no longer 'white') at a cost of £500,000. (*Ulster Newsletter*, 8th September 1996)

Right on target

The Archers, the long-running Radio 4 play, has become "a badly written load of feminist tripe" and a "mouthpiece for the loony Left", according to its editor between 1975 and 1986. "If [the present editor] wants to be involved in that sort of propaganda, she should apply for a job on Eastenders" William Smethurst added. (*Daily Telegraph*, 13th September 1996)

So that's all right, then

"It might, or it might not, be right to kill, but it is sometimes necessary" thinks a fictional IRA assassin in Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams' autobiography, *Before Dawn*, from which Adams is expected to make £100,000. A House of Commons committee room was booked for the book's launch by Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn (although permission to use the room for this purpose was later withdrawn). (*Daily Mail*, 16th September 1996)

A-Maze-ing

The Crime of Castlereagh, a pro-IRA play based on the writings of hunger-striker Bobby Sands and starring eight serving terrorist prisoners, received sponsorship from the Arts Council of Northern Ireland, Belfast City Council and the Northern Ireland Probation Board. (*Guardian*, 16th September 1996)

New man in the making

Jonathan Prevette, an American student, was punished for sexual

Bar code

Speaking at the Bar Council's conference in London, a senior Appeal Court judge, responding to a female barrister's assertion that women faced "a hostile environment" in court and at the Bar, aroused indignation when he responded that he could "think of one or two examples... where women have been appointed, when if they had been men of comparable ability they would not have been appointed." (*Guardian*, 30th September 1996)

Third World dictatorship

Britain is guilty of more than 40 'violations' of its international human rights obligations, concluded a survey by the Human Rights Centre at the University of Essex. The violations included the disenfranchisement of most prisoners and the fact that decisions to permit public protests depend on the "commonsense" of the authorities. (*Guardian*, 16th September 1996)

SOCIETY FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Founded in the 1940's, the Society campaigns for more personal freedom, less State control (including less taxation) and for genuinely free enterprise in place of State and private monopolies. To preserve our liberties we need, *inter alia*, more independent-minded MPs, a stronger Second Chamber and more effective parliamentary control over the executive.

For more information and details of how to subscribe to the Society's publication, *The Individual*, please write to:

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A judicious, jaundiced Jarndyce

Right NOW! interviews Martin Mears

Martin Mears caused a considerable stir when he contested and won the Law Society Presidency in 1995, in the first interesting Law Society election since its foundation in 1825. The Norfolk solicitor had been finally goaded into action by what he saw as the ineptitude and remoteness of the Society's ruling clique. His tenure was a stormy one, marked by acrimony and senior staff departures, as he sought to effect various professional reforms and bring some rationality into the politically correct environs of Chancery Lane. He was denounced at conferences and in newspapers, press conferences were called by his opponents to denounce him, and one far-Left opponent even went so far as to dub him a "force of darkness".



A not unfavourable interview in the *Times* called him the "pinstripe pugilist". Although he narrowly lost the 1996 election, he received more votes than on his first attempt, and intends to stand again next year.

What sparked off your bid for the Law Society Presidency?

I thought the Society had lost the confidence of the profession. It had become alienated from them, and was pursuing its own concerns and agenda rather than those of ordinary solicitors. The profession had been suffering very badly financially. Around a quarter of practitioners earned less than £10,000 per year. A recent survey of 100 firms of different sizes in the *Law Society Gazette* showed that the great majority were heavily dependent on bank funding. Now, of course, all this is connected to market forces over which we have no control, but also to the excessive and increasing size of the profession – a problem which the Law Society has refused to tackle.

What about the 'anti-heterosexist' directive the Society was trying to promulgate?

That was a minor irritation, but a symptom of what was wrong. I spoke of the Society having its own agenda. We had a proposal to make it a practice rule under which it would be an offence to discriminate against homosexuals. My reply to that was "Is there any evidence that there is, in fact, any discrimination against homosexuals?" – and there wasn't any. They couldn't provide any evidence whatsoever. It was simply a gesture of *Guardian*-type orthodoxy.

Are the preoccupations of the Society establishment shared by the profession at large?

Go into any High Street firm and ask them whether they're worried about discrimination against homosexuals, and they'll look at you as though you are a Martian. You've got all these solicitors out in the High Street trying to scrape a living, and their professional body sends them a leaflet telling them not to discriminate against homosexuals. Of course I am not saying that homosexuals *should* be discriminated against; quite the opposite.

You attacked the 'anti-sexist' lobby at the Woman Lawyer conference attended by Cherie Blair, et al.

What was the thrust of your argument?

What I said was that women had manifestly made great strides in recent years. We have just appointed a female Secretary General and a female head of the Solicitors' Indemnity Fund – three of the four legal magazines have women editors – we have a female Director of Public Prosecutions. More than half of the people now entering the profession are women. Ten years ago, it was unusual to meet a woman partner; now it is commonplace. These are great steps forward. My question is why is it that instead of acknowledging these facts and rejoicing, we go on and on whingeing about "glass ceilings" and discrimination.

Then there is a separate question. Do professional women encounter particular difficulties? The answer is that of course they do. As women they have to achieve a balancing act of children, home and careers. Of course they suffer from that. Clearly, also, a few women encounter malicious, deliberate discrimination. But what is the extent of the problem? It is in the self-serving interests of the zealots to magnify it. It is interesting to note that after I had made that much-denounced speech, I was supported by newspaper articles written by Janet Daly, Valerie Grove and Libby Purves, all of them professional women themselves. Libby Purves did say that I must have been pretty thick-skinned to have said it – as I know to my cost.

What do you think of the recent divorce reforms?

I am divorced, separated from my wife for over ten years. I now live with a woman to whom I am not married, and with whom I have two children – like a million others. These facts are wholly uninteresting but if I don't mention them I shall be accused of concealment. I think of my own experiences and also my experience as a family lawyer when I say that I think divorce is too easy. My objection to the original Family Law Bill was that, protestations to the contrary, the reality would be that divorce would be even easier. As many others have pointed out, the result of every

divorce law reform we have ever had has been an increase in divorce. However, in its present, much-amended, form, I would say that the present Bill will make divorce more difficult. It is now a different Bill, and in general I can live with it, although there are particular things that can be criticised even now.

What is the most damaging aspect of political correctness?

It creates a climate of humbug and cant, dishonesty and heresy-hunting. Read the *Guardian* or the *Independent*. I am told that it is now incorrect to describe a woman police officer as a WPC. Firemen have to be called firefighters, even if the reality is that they are all men.

Take the Bar's equality code. This contains all manner of nonsense. If you send out invitations, for instance, they have got to be "non-gender specific". Then look at the ludicrous statistics on alleged sexual harassment at the Bar. I think it was said that 40% of female pupils were victims. I tracked down the source for figures of this kind and, of course, they don't stand up.

Do you think we are now too fond of litigation?

Yes. You see a hugely increased number of complaints against all the professions and anyone providing a service – against ourselves, against doctors, even the ambulance service. The idea is that there is no such thing as an unfortunate accident. Take the recent case of the amateur rugby player who recovered damages against the referee. A short time ago, someone injured in a rugby match would not dream of blaming the referee. It is another step on the American road and ultimately it won't benefit the lawyers. Look at the scant regard in which lawyers are held there.

What can be done to reverse the trend?

It is often reversed. One often reads about a new landmark case which makes a great impression, which is later quietly reversed. For example, a man who slipped on the Cobb at Lyme Regis and recovered damages against the Council. That Judgement was reversed on appeal. The case got an enormous amount of publicity; the reversal did not. Things are not at bad as the press would have you believe. For instance you read about an idiotic judge in the tabloids and you could get the impression that the bench is infested by fools. But then you think, hang on, there are another 900 judges in the country, working quietly away, day after day, year after year. How many buffoons are there among them? Very, very few. How many bizarre decisions do you ever hear about? Very, very few. In the same way, you might get the impression from the tabloids that doctors spend all their time assaulting female patients.

What do you think of Thatcherism?

I was a great supporter of Mrs Thatcher in the mid-1980s. When she came along, I thought she was the only person who would tackle the unions. She was the only person who would have taken back the Falklands. She had great courage. She was absolutely right to start with; one trembles to think what would have happened if she had not been elected. My criticism of her is that she took good ideas and carried them to extremes. She looked at every tradition and institution as bad, as something to be demolished. She has enormously centralised state power. Even from her own perspective, that is greatly mistaken, because sooner or later this great power machine will be handed over to the

Labour Party. She never thought of that. The former centres of power – like the local authorities and the universities – have been emasculated.

And look at Britain's economic performance since 1979; the gap between us and our main competitors has widened. So really it is inaccurate to describe Thatcherism as a great success story – it is not, although you can argue that the alternative would have been far worse. Then I look at her attitude towards the professions, which she seems to have seen as conspiracies – just like the unions. I would say that, above all, a Conservative government should value institutions, value traditions, value the professions and protect the middle classes. Can anyone say these are characteristics of Thatcherism?

Do you think that we should have a more "Right wing" party?

I would hate to think that I was a Right winger in the mould of the stupid Right. What I want is a free market combined with a valuing of tradition and a determination to identify the good things from the past, such as the grammar schools. Speaking of grammar schools, it is a bit of Conservative piety to say that "we value the grammar schools". But in their day they were also responsible for destroying them – and what have they done about restoring them? Nothing, apart from token gestures. Look at what Conservative governments have actually done. Where have they gone along a conservative path, as opposed to a *laissez-faire* liberal one? You cannot use a "Leftwing establishment" as an alibi after 16 years in power. After 16 years, if the DOE is packed with trendy Lefties, that's your fault. You appointed them.

How would you describe your own philosophy, and who have been major influences on you?

The writers I most admire are Voltaire, Orwell and Evelyn Waugh. In each case I would say that their chief characteristic was clarity of thought, although Waugh had a great baggage of social prejudices.

Clarity of thought means that you look behind shibboleths. Take Thatcherite-free marketism. The argument is that the free market always delivers. My reply to that is that, plainly, it does not. Most successful economies started from a heavily protectionist base, and abandoned protectionism only when they became strong players. Think of the covert protectionism applied in Europe, by Italy for example, an economy which overtook our own during the last ten years. The proof is in the pudding. You have got to keep saying "How successful is our own economy compared to the Italian, the French, the German or the Dutch, or those of Scandinavia?" □



FACTFILE

Martin John Patrick Mears

President, Law Society, 1995 – 1996

Born 12th February, 1940, divorced (seven children).

Educated: St Illtyd's College, Cardiff; Wadham College, Oxford, MA, BCL

Solicitor since 1966

Publications: Numerous articles in national, regional and legal press

Recreations: Law Society, journalism

Clubs: United Oxford, Norfolk (Norwich)

AN END TO TAXATION VEXATION

As with Buchanan, so with Steve Forbes. They lost the Republican nomination, but they triumphed in the battle for ideas. Not, of course, that there was really much of a battle, as Bob Dole does not have an original idea in his head. Buchanan's social conservatism won the hearts of the average American workers, and Steve Forbes' one big policy, a flat tax with no exemptions, has now become fashionable in the party. The flat tax rate proposed by Forbes was 17%, with a threshold of \$11,350 (about £7,500) per person and a \$5,300 (£3,500) allowance per child. Forbes also proposed that there would be no taxation on dividends and savings, but neither would there be any tax deductible expenditure such as health insurance or mortgage interest. Not only has Dole (who 'never saw a tax' he didn't hike') pledged to slash income tax rates by 15%, but he appointed Jack Kemp – who endorsed Forbes – as his running mate. The reason for Dole's sudden conversion to lower taxation was of course sheer desperation, as he reckoned there was no other hope of overtaking Clinton's lead in the polls. Whether enough people will be sufficiently gullible to win him the Presidency we shall know soon enough, but even if he loses, the idea of radical tax reform is one whose time has come and one which is worth studying here in Britain.

Whether the Forbes figures add up is not the point of this article, and is, in fact, immaterial at this stage, as what matters is the concept, the direction in which one wishes to travel. Tories all agree that taxes are too high (except, it seems, Kenneth Clarke), and, given that there have, effectively, been over twenty separate tax increases following John Major's promise in 1992 to "cut taxes year on year", one reason why the government is so far behind in the polls must surely be fairly obvious. According to the Adam Smith Institute you have only been earning money this year since 21 May: our rate of taxation is the equivalent of 142 days of the year, so until 21 May you were no more than the Chancellor's serf. We need bold action in November's budget to reclaim the public's faith. Once you are agreed that taxation needs to be reduced you need to decide on the balance between reducing overall tax rates and marginal tax rates. While reducing marginal rates of tax (how much you tax each *additional* pound that someone earns) provides an incentive for people to work harder, increasing personal tax allowances (which takes low earners out of taxation and reduces overall tax rates for those above the threshold) encourages those out of work to get started on the career-ladder and take low-paid starter jobs. There is no question that marginal tax rates influence peoples' decisions about which job to take and how hard to work; why bother learning new skills, moving around the country and taking on a difficult and stressful job if at the



*In November the Chancellor
will present the last budget
before the next general
election.*

*George Warwick
suggests that it is about time
for some radical ideas,
before Labour get there
first...*

end of the day you will only be a few pounds better off? A motivated, entrepreneurial workforce needs low tax rates, and experience in both the United States and Britain has shown that tax cuts can not only increase the overall amount of revenue raised, but also the proportion of tax income paid by the wealthier section of the population. This is known as supply-side economics, and the theory behind it is based on the 'Laffer curve'. Professor Art Laffer argued that while a zero rate of income tax would obviously produce zero income, so would a 100% rate of tax, since nobody will work for nothing. If you plot a graph of tax rate against revenue there will therefore be a curve whereby increasing tax rates will initially produce greater income, but after a certain level will actually be counter-productive.

Not only do the Laffer curve and supply-side economics work in theory, they have been proven to work in practice and are also fair. In case you find this hard to believe here are a few facts. When the Conservatives took office in 1979 the top 10% of the population contributed 35% of the total amount of income tax collected. Since then the top rate of tax has been cut from 83% to 40%, and the top 10% now contribute 44% of the total

amount raised. Another example comes from the United States, where, in the 1920s, the top rate of tax was cut from 73% to 25%, and not only did the total amount of tax paid by those earning more than \$100,000 rise by 86%, but their contribution to the overall amount of tax revenue raised increased from 28% to 50%. Furthermore, far from reducing the total amount of tax raised, this tax cut led to an increase of almost 3%. As Sir Roger Douglas famously asked the New Zealand parliament in 1988 when putting forward Labour's (!) tax-cutting budget: "Do you want a tax system that looks progressive or one that actually is progressive in its results?"

Amazing though it may seem, there is a real danger that we could be outflanked on the tax issue by our own Labour Party. With Tony Blair's support, Gordon Brown has been trying desperately to shed 'old' Labour's tax-and-spend image, but, as opinion polls and the in-vogue focus groups show, with only limited success. If Labour's lead over the Tories starts to erode, it is entirely possible that Brown and Blair will decide that a promise of radical tax reform is just what they need. Before you snort with derision at such an outlandish idea, kindly note that Labour's recent draft manifesto pledged: "we would like to reduce taxes for ordinary families, who have suffered enough". And Brown would not have to look far for some radical ideas. Ten years ago Frank Field, Labour MP for Birkenhead and current Chairman of the House of Commons Social Security Committee, proposed a flat 12p tax rate, achieved by abolishing the non-personal tax allowances. Frank Field now says that "Kemp and new Labour are where the voters are... A Labour chancellor who starts to cap allowances and uses the revenue to cut the rate of tax will move into an election with a strategy which will pay dividends for the voters. The new Republicans have understood this".

Instead of allowing Labour to steal conservative ideas the way Clinton has done in America, we should have the courage of our convictions, go back to the Thatcher-Reagan economics, and set out our own radical tax reforms. Taxation is of course a tool, a means to an end rather than an end in itself, and before deciding what tax structure and rates to impose one should decide what one is trying to achieve. By this I do not only merely mean how much revenue the government needs, but what sort of society we want. I believe we should aim for three main goals.

Firstly, we need to reduce the marginal rate of tax to set free Britain's spirit of enterprise and endeavour, thus creating new industries and new jobs.

Secondly we need to take low earners out of the tax system altogether, and finally we

need to reverse the recent trend (under a supposedly pro-family party) of penalising married couples. These goals are not difficult to achieve, but will involve a radical overhaul of the tax and benefit systems (and you can't look at one without the other as they are the two sides of the same coin), so that instead of taxing the middle classes to support the indolent you encourage the work-shy to get a job and let those who do work keep as much of their hard-earned money as possible.

We should start off by immediately reducing the basic rate of tax from 24p to 20p and increasing the threshold for the 40p tax rate from £25,500 to £40,000; in return, all non-personal allowances, including mortgage tax relief, should be eliminated (while home ownership has many virtues, it discourages workforce mobility and there is no logic in favouring ownership over private-sector renting). In order to help pensioners and encourage people to be prudent and save, so that they can look after themselves in difficult times without being a burden on society, there should be no tax at all on interest earned on savings and investments. Encouraging self-reliance and eliminating the dependency culture are surely sound conservative policies, and the loss of revenue would be partly offset by the resultant reduction in benefits paid; the general economy would also benefit from the extra savings which token schemes like PEPs and TESSAs prove would be invested. Next, we need to take the lower paid out of the tax system, in order to help them,

encourage the unemployed to take lower paid jobs and reduce welfare costs. Personal tax allowances should therefore be doubled, to £7,000, and income support and all other non-pension benefits, such as rent allowance, should be cut by 25%. With non-state pension welfare payments costing over £60 billion per year the savings would be considerable. These measures would also have several side-benefits, such as simplifying the tax and benefit system (so needing fewer civil servants to administer it) and reducing the black economy criminality and tax evasion.

In order to help encourage marriage and families, the married man's allowance should be increased to £25,000, although in return married women should have a nil personal allowance and child benefit (costing £7 billion per year) should be abolished (Gordon Brown recently proposed abolishing child benefit for 16 and 17 year olds in full-time education). The result of this would be an incentive for co-habiting couples to get married and discouragement for single mothers and those large families who cannot maintain themselves.

Increasing the married man's allowance in this way would also tackle another problem which has recently come to the fore, that of the split between dual-income and no-income families. A recent report in the *Sunday Times* revealed that whilst, in the last 20 years the proportion of workless households has tripled to nearly 20%, the proportion of double income families (with both partners working

full-time) has now increased to around 30%. As most married women only work out of necessity, these tax changes would take many of them out of the workforce and enable men from workless households living on benefits to get a job. The *Sunday Times* quotes officials from the Department of Social Security as saying that the gap between dual-income and no-income families is "the biggest problem we face in welfare".

With average male annual earnings around £20,000, all these measures taken together would effectively free the lowest paid 50% from income tax, but the cost is less than you might imagine. The bottom 50% only contribute 13% to the government's income tax revenue, and in cash terms this is only worth around £9 billion (and we then return £2.5 billion per year in benefits for those in low paid jobs). Coincidentally, around this time last year the *Times* reported that "the Chancellor could raise at least £9 billion ... from levies on privatised regional electricity and water utilities". (Although this would be a one-off income it would cover any initial implementation costs for this new tax structure and, as such a utilities tax is central to Labour's plans, we would spike their guns by going for it first.) These tax proposals would stimulate the economy and the general public, they would show that the government has not become moribund and geriatric, and that there is a bright economic future on the horizon. Will anyone in government listen? □

THE 'FEEL GOOD FACTOR' IS NOT ENOUGH

The 'feel good factor' is a phenomenon which has been much discussed of late, and with the next General Election looming it will doubtless continue to hit the headlines. But how important is it really in electoral terms?

The chart below contrasts the Conservative 'lead' over Labour since 1979, according to the Gallup 9000 opinion poll, with the response to the consumer confidence survey question, "How do you think the financial position of your household will change over the next six months?"

The peaks and troughs of both graphs show a marked similarity; the correlation is clearly a good one, and indicates the importance of the return of the 'feel good factor' to Conservative hopes. But equally clearly the 'feel good factor' is not the only determinant of political support. For much of the time Tory support was substantially greater than the number of confident consumers. This was surely due to the public's perception of Labour as inept, divided, under the thumb of the TUC, and incapable of forming a competent government. Not surprisingly Labour's greatest period of 'feel good under-performance' was in the early 1980s, under the leadership of the absurd Foot.

But now the boot is clearly on the other foot - no pun intended. For the first time since the Seventies, Labour is actually outperforming the feel good factor, and by a

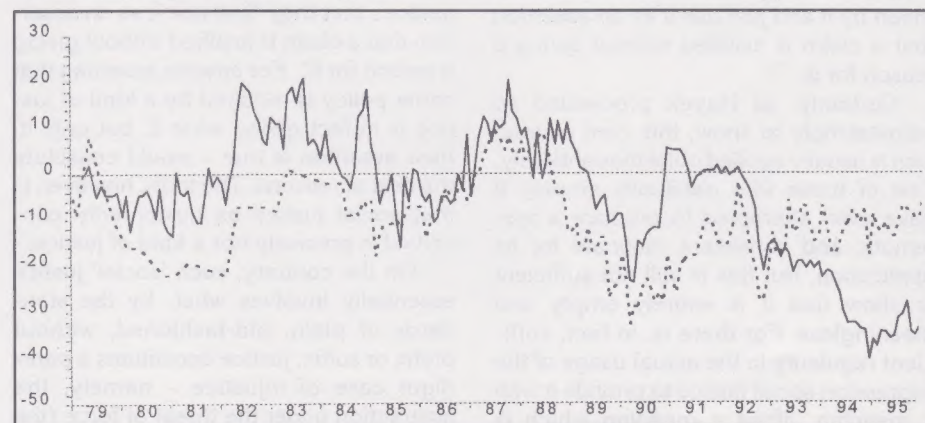
considerable margin too. What on earth is going on?

The perceived changes brought about within the Labour Party under Tony Blair is doubtless part of the answer. (Whether reality matches perception is another matter.) But it is rather difficult to imagine that a toothpaste-advertisement smile and a collection of bland platitudes could really effect such a transformation of political fortunes.

The sad reality is surely not that Labour is outperforming the feel good factor, but that the Tories are lagging dismally behind. The situation of the early Eighties has been reversed; it is now the Tories who are seen to be weak, inept and unable to govern.

What is to be done? For a start Ministers could stop offering the 'feel good factor' as an alibi for electoral woe - on past form the Tories should be *ahead* in the polls with the present level of consumer confidence.

Labour re-invented itself by offloading much of its ideological baggage and shifting significantly to the Right. Surely the Conservatives must do something similar; it must realise that economic factors - important though they clearly are - are not the only ones to sway electorates. Uncompromisingly conservative social policies are required to be strongly articulated, and *implemented while in office*, if the party is to retain the confidence of its natural supporters. □



— Conservative 'lead' over Labour in the Gallup 9000 opinion polls.
 - - - - - UK consumer confidence index, EC/Gallup survey.

'SOCIAL' JUSTICE IS NOT JUSTICE

Professor Antony Flew joins the fray

In *Right Now!* for July/September 1996, David Marsland controverts Hayek's contention "that social justice is an incoherent, meaningless concept which we should avoid using altogether". On the contrary, Marsland maintains, "Properly understood, social justice is both morally necessary and valuable in instrumental economic terms". But he offers us no definition of the expression 'social justice', and makes no attempt to explain how if at all social justice is related to old-fashioned, without prefix or suffix, justice.

In this Marsland resembles all the people whom he so rightly criticises – "the Commission on Social Justice, ... the Labour Party ... social affairs 'experts' in the media, and ... spiritual leaders in the churches". For instance, the report of that Commission, *Social Justice: Strategies for National Renewal*, has a preface which assures us that the late leader of the Labour Party, who was responsible for the establishment of that Commission, "allied a passion for social justice with a vision of economic renewal". The Commissioners begin by telling us that for them the essential values of social justice are "the equal worth of all citizens, their equal right to be able to meet their basic needs, the need to spread opportunities and life chances as widely as possible, and finally the requirement that we reduce and where possible eliminate unjustified inequalities". Here and elsewhere they insist on presuming, albeit defeasibly, that all perceived inequalities are unjust.

In his Preface to *The Mirage of Social Justice*, the second volume of his trilogy *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Hayek explained how he came to conclude "that the Emperor had no clothes on, that is, that the term 'social justice' was entirely empty and meaningless", and that the people that habitually employ the phrase simply do not know themselves what they mean by it and just use it as an assertion that a claim is justified without giving a reason for it.

Certainly, as Hayek proceeded so painstakingly to show, this cant expression is usually applied quite thoughtlessly. Few of those who habitually employ it have even attempted to produce a systematic and consistent rationale for its application. But this is still not sufficient to show that it is entirely empty and meaningless. For there is, in fact, sufficient regularity in the actual usage of the expression social justice to provide it with a meaning, albeit a meaning which is both variable and in some directions vague.

In that meaning it, and what is apparently for many the equivalent expression, equality and social justice, can be defined most illuminatingly as referring to the achievement by extensive statist means of whatever would for socialists be an ideal distribution of goods of all kinds. Following the suggestion made by Hayek in his preface to the second edition of *The Road to Serfdom* the word socialism is here to be understood to mean "not the nationalization of the means of production and central economic planning which this made possible and necessary..." but "...the extensive redistribution of incomes through taxation and the institutions of the welfare state."

It was in this sense of socialism that in December 1994, in what turned out to be his valedictory address as President of the European Commission to the European Parliament, Jacques Delors "claimed to have defeated Reagan and Thatcher by installing socialism as the guiding principle of the European Union". And it is in the same understanding that we can see Hayek's dedication of that book "To the socialists of all parties" as applying to members not only of Labour and Social Democratic but also of Christian Democratic parties, parties which are at one in their commitment to the Social Chapter of the Maastricht treaty.

**"The truth is that
social justice as
customarily conceived
is precisely not a kind
of justice."**

Hayek was also wrong to maintain, of habitual users of the expression 'social justice', that they "just use it as an assertion that a claim is justified without giving a reason for it". For anyone asserting that some policy is required by a kind of justice is in fact giving what if, but only if, their assertion is true – would constitute the best of reasons. The truth, however, is that social justice as customarily conceived is precisely not a kind of justice.

On the contrary, such 'social' justice essentially involves what, by the standards of plain, old-fashioned, without prefix or suffix, justice constitutes a paradigm case of injustice – namely, the abstraction under the threat of force (the taxing away) of (some of) what must be presumed to be the justly acquired

property of the better off in order to transfer it (less, of course, some often substantial service charge) to (some of) those whose previous just acquisitions or lack of just acquisitions have left them worse off. The identification of justice with equality is equally erroneous. For the rules of justice, like all rules, require not that all individuals, but only that all relevantly like individuals, should be treated in the same way. Who, for instance, would recognise a system which insisted that the guilty should be treated in exactly the same way as the innocent as a system of justice?

Most of those concerned to promote 'social' justice conceal from themselves the force, indeed even the possibility of such objections, by tacitly assuming that the sum of all the incomes received and all the wealth owned within some nation is already the collective property of that nation, and hence is available for distribution, free of all morally legitimate prior claims, at the discretion of its masters. For instance, the National Economic and Social Council of the Republic of Ireland is by its terms of reference required to "promote social justice", which apparently either involves or is "the fair or equitable distribution of the income and wealth of the nation". The crucial truth which is here being overlooked is that 'the national income', 'Gross Domestic Product', 'Gross National Product', and so on are all what Gilbert Ryle used to call systematically misleading expressions. They refer to the sum of the individual incomes of the citizens rather than to the income of some collective.

The objection that 'social' justice is not a kind of justice is often countered either by urging that the world would be a better place if the distribution of income and wealth was different from what it actually is or by protesting that this objection is at best trivially verbal. It is easy to agree with the first of these contentions. In my personal ideal world, for instance, successful pop stars would not be voted multimillionaires by the purchases of everyone's teenage children. But this is simply irrelevant. For it is one thing to justify a situation, that is, to show it to be desirable or excusable or in some other way preferable to the available alternatives, but it is quite another thing to *justify* it, that is, to show it to be not just 'socially' just but plain old-fashioned, without prefix or suffix, just.

To appreciate that and why the issue is most emphatically not trivially verbal it is sufficient to ask and answer the ques-

tion why people are so keen to maintain that their actions or policies or whatever else are indeed (socially) just. It is of course because they want to arrogate to these actions or policies or whatever else the psychological associations which are presently linked with, and the logical implications which are presently carried by, employments of the word 'just'. Very understandably they want thus to see themselves and to be seen by others as occupying the moral high ground, and they want to see their opponents as *ex officio* callous, selfish and immoral. See, for instance, Professor Handerich's abusive misrepresentation *Conservatism* (Hamilton, London, 1990).

"Very understandably they want to see themselves and to be seen by others as occupying the moral high ground, and they want to see their opponents as *ex officio* callous, selfish and immoral."

Perhaps even more importantly, though this is rarely recognized, those who share the socialist ideals of 'social' justice need to equip themselves with what, if only it were true, would constitute a decisive answer to an otherwise properly embarrassing question: By what right are you proposing to deploy the forceful machinery of the state in order to impose upon all concerned your own personal or party vision of an ideal society? For justice is precisely not an expression of individual or group preferences, not such an individual or party vision of an ideal society. To appeal to justice is to appeal to a standard logically independent of all individual and collective interests or preferences. That is why everyone has to allow that what is prescribed by (moral) justice may properly, though not always prudently be enforced by (legal) law. This point was put most decisively by Adam Smith in the penultimate paragraph of Chapter I of section II of Part II of his other masterpiece, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*:

"The man who barely abstains from violating either the person, or the estate, or the reputation of his neighbours, has, surely, little positive merit. He fulfils, however, all the rules of what is peculiarly called justice, and does everything which his equals can with propriety force him to do, or which they can punish him for not doing". □

Only a housewife?

Mrs Mary Hopson opts to stay at home

My husband has a Second World War jeep. Filling in an insurance renewal form for it recently, he asked me whether he should put my name down as a possible driver. As I hesitated to reply, he said "If I do, I'd be able to give your occupation as 'housewife'". "Certainly put my name down!" I said. This incident reminded me of a contrasting one which took place at our house some months ago. A young married woman who lives in the same village as us happened to call when we wanted a certain form witnessed. She gave her occupation as 'farmer', a somewhat imprecise description of looking after one's home and small children while one's husband is out at business, one might have thought - although it is true that the family owns a cider-apple orchard. More seriously, it reminded me of a letter I saw in our local paper two or three years ago. The writer, a woman, spoke not so much of married women gaining income, companionship and 'broadened horizons' by going out to work, but of gaining self-respect.

Such is the low status the occupation of housewife seems to hold in the eyes of many today. For an opposite assessment, listen to John Seymour, best-selling author and acknowledged "father of self-sufficiency". This is how he begins his introduction to *The National Trust Book of Forgotten Household Crafts* (£14.99, ISBN 0 86318 1740). How one's opinion of the National Trust has gone up as a result of their daring to publish such a magnificent piece of political incorrectness!

"I'm only a housewife, I'm afraid'. How often do we hear this shocking admission. I'm afraid when I hear it I feel very angry indeed. Only a housewife - only a practitioner of one of the two most noble professions (the other one is that of a farmer); only the mistress of a huge battery of high and varied skills and custodian of civilisation itself. Only a typist, perhaps! Only a company director, or a nuclear physicist, only a barrister, only Prime Minister! When a woman says she is a housewife, she should say it with the utmost pride, for there is nothing higher on this planet to which she could aspire."

After that, one is not surprised to learn that Mr Seymour regards his book as more than a record of the past. It was written, he says "...to inspire and instruct us for the future", for he is convinced that "the future does not lie in the direction of fish fingers, and telly snacks, and Formica and other plastic rubbish. It lies in the recreation of real homes". "Woman the homemaker" and "man the husbandman" are expressions he uses, adding: "Vive la difference!...Men are different from women just as apples are different from oranges and the qualities of both put together make the greatest human power for good there is".

The benefits to ourselves and our children of regarding the occupation of housewife highly would have been obvious to previous generations and, I am sure, are obvious to *Right Now!* readers. Let me pick out, more or less at random and without the elaboration additional space would allow, some of those that strike me as the most glaring. But first let me make clear that, like Mr Seymour, I am speaking generally. I am not saying that all married women should be full-time housewives; I am simply arguing that it would be very much better for all of us if many more not only were, but were proud to be.

First and foremost, one effect would be the strengthening of the normal, traditional, 'nuclear' family - the cornerstone of society. Next, the lessening of crime - not only because where there are more people in and about the home 'keeping an eye on things' there are fewer opportunities for crime, but because of the extra time available to mothers to school their children "in the nature of right and wrong", as David Marsland put it splendidly in his *Right Now!* article ("Crime and Punishment? Towards a more orderly Britain", issue 9).

Time, too, for the forgotten, or half-forgotten arts Mr Seymour deals with in his book. My favourite section is that on "Making and Repairing Clothes". I can think of nothing that would more certainly and rapidly restore colour, life, variety and beauty to the present drab every day scene, than the wearing by young women and girls of attractive, feminine clothes. One gloriously politically incorrect benefit of regarding the occupation of housewife highly is the corresponding affirmation it gives to the traditional status of men as breadwinners (to say nothing of actually providing more jobs for men). Another is the gaining of an object-lesson in non-utilitarianism: "Breadwinning is a means to an end, not an end in itself; people are to be valued for themselves, not for what they do, and certainly not their ability to 'bread-win'".

I have space for only one more benefit, but that one of the greatest importance. It is the loosening of the chains of government. We are all bureaucracy-ridden these days, but the full-time housewife is interfered with least of all. Feminists scoff at stay-at-home wives and mothers for being 'chained to the kitchen sink'. I, on the contrary, have come to regard my kitchen sink as a symbol of, and as a means to, freedom. □

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In Memoriam Arthur Head

Marek Racho laments lost erudition

My favourite English master left Bishopshalt School a few years ago, thereby missing the accusations of 'sexism' and 'racism' that would have been flung at him in these benighted days. His name was Arthur Head and he retired from teaching to live a quiet life, playing Bach and Scarlatti on the piano, reading the books he loved, and occasionally visiting old churches and other sites of antiquarian interest. In 1993 he died, alone and unvisited, and I, hearing the news years later, wept to hear of his passing.

*"They told me Heraclitus, they told
me you were dead,
"They brought me bitter news to
hear and bitter tears to shed."*

The world will not see his like again and the world will be the worse for it.

I was undoubtedly his worst pupil. My essays were peppered with references to bad science fiction novels, structuralism, Jim Morrison, feminism, Sartre, existentialism, hip-hop, multiculturalism and cyberpunk. In short I was an arrogant and idiotic young pup. The essays would be returned to me with comments like "you will fail your exams" in the margins. He was right; I did. I deconstructed the examination paper, writing bawdy limericks in it, an order of battle for British forces at Badajoz, and the sentence "Dear Examiner, I dare you to give me an A". I was almost surprised when the paper was returned unmarked, the first in the history of the school. Mr. Head had to apologize to the examining board of the University of London and he never spoke to me again. I have been apologizing to him in my heart ever since. He was one of those people to whom you keep composing letters at night; you never send those letters, never write them, and one day it is too late, and there is no one there to receive them.

Mr Head was a bad teacher; he wouldn't be allowed to teach nowadays. He lectured and berated us during English lessons, told anecdotes and went into marvellous digressions

about Elizabethan make-up, old singers, and the three laws of motion. He knew more science than most science masters, and was visibly appalled by our crass ignorance of elementary chemistry (without which, Jonson's *Alchemist* proved almost unreadable). He was such a bad teacher that I have never forgotten any of the literature he taught us, and, even though I was an obstreperous schoolboy who wanted to question what I should be learning, I learned actually quite a lot. "Ah well," as the schoolmaster says in Kipling's story *Regulus*: "A little of it sticks, a little of it sticks among the barbarians".

And barbarians we were, most of us, using English Literature as a cushy billet, interested only in passing the exam and then forgetting it all. Some among the class would make dutiful attempts to take notes while Mr. Head lectured, but this caused him pain. He frequently admonished us with the words "Don't scribble!" and he was right, of course — the youthful memory is far better employed in imaginative and sensitive listening than in shorthand. Classroom discussion was kept to a minimum, being left to teachers who were better at it or too young to have anything to say.

As senior member of the English staff, his word was law when it came to choosing each year's sixth form curriculum, (much to the chagrin of the unschooled younger teachers fresh out of college). Thus it was that our course consisted of

Edmund Gosse's late Victorian memoir *Father and Son* rather than, say, *Animal Farm* or *The Catcher in the Rye* (the latter amusingly being assigned to a remedial group of thirteen year olds). Instead of being stupefied by books of bad modern verse, we had to suffer *Poems of Faith and Doubt* — a selection of chunks of raw Browning, Gerard

Manley Hopkins, and Matthew Arnold. It seemed difficult at the time, but of course it was the only thing worth doing. By the end of the year I was in possession of a time machine which could transport me to Victorian England at will — a mind stuffed with the words and ideas and feelings of the age. However foolish and conceited my surface self appeared, however much I prated of multiculturalism, deconstruction and other such nonsense, ultimately a deeper, better part of me had been reached and awakened, even though I hardly knew it then.

Until I came across Mr Head, my experience of English had not

been a happy one — the teachers were young and more interested in ingratiating themselves with the class than in teaching. Our textbooks were patronising and offensive to the soul of any imaginative child, full of bits of chopped-up prose masquerading as verse, and stories about phony "teenage" issues. Somehow the sociologists had got hold of the junior years and were using us as lab rats to experiment on. In four years of junior English I learned next to nothing. It was all relationships, communication skills and writing hideous teenage poetry that did not rhyme. My friend H— would regularly hand in the verse parodies that went under the name "EJ Thribb" in *Private Eye* magazine. Our teacher was so expert in her calling that she never knew the difference.

After so many years of experiencing bogus teaching, my first lesson with Mr Head was an absolute epiphany. He entered the classroom, a medium sized man with hawkish eyes and wings of grey hair framing a high forehead, and he roared out the opening lines of one of Donne's *Holy Sonnets*:

*"At the round Earth's imagined
corners, blow
Your trumpets, angels, and arise,
arise*



*From death, you numberless infinities of souls
And to your scattered bodies go!"*

At last, real poetry. I was hooked. Mr. Head proceeded to pound the table with his fist, and, after staring at us for a moment (most of us were in shock), he began to talk. John Donne, the modernist young man, the lover who became Dean of St Paul's, the preacher who frightened his audience into fits, the satirist; metaphysical poets, Dr Johnson, Catholicism, Babington's secret service, Marlowe the spy, Queen Elizabeth's command of Latin, the *King James Bible*, James the First's love of boys and hatred of smoking, the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, Francis Bacon's essays, and so on for a thrilling and fascinating hour and a half.

I came out of that class, my mind reeling and excited, and for the next week I would shout "Arise arise, you numberless infinities of souls" to all who crossed my path. All that I learned became part of me, and I part of it; the dirty concrete alleys I walked through on the way home from school were made less ugly by quoting satirical slurs at them, the birds wheeling in the sky became "gathering swallows", the fence by the common became the *Wreck of the Deutschland*, and all, all delivered in Mr. Head's melancholy Worcestershire drone. Often he would give us precise directions to places of historical interest, and those maps, along with his guiding information, remain in my mind. He had a trick of mentioning past years as so much better than our own – "I remember the class of '73," he would sigh disgustedly, "I need only mention a book in passing, and they'd read it. Not like you lot." We were always "you lot" and rightly so. But if he had not mentioned a girl from the class of '69 who, "just to show old Head," had read *Paradise Lost* in less than a week, I would not have been goaded into discovering Milton when I was young and impressionable enough to delight easily in the grand sublimity of the verse.

Best of all, Mr Head refused to compromise; we must start with Chaucer (which he refused to allow us to read except in the original Middle English),

work through Shakespeare and end with Dickens. Although it was not part of the examination course, he also gave us a historical overview of English poetry because, as he put it, "the exam would otherwise be meaningless." Those of us who were interested solely in passing the exam and forgetting it were not happy at being challenged to learn and understand, but others thrived; my friend H- bought a complete Chaucer and delighted in cursing at us in fluent 14th century English. "Harrow! By nayles and by blood!" The poetic overview ended, unsurprisingly, with TS Eliot, whose *Wasteland* Mr Head explained and clarified so that young modernists and petty radicals like myself could grasp its meaning rather than use it as an attitude.

At the end of an intense year of Mr Head's classes, my thirsty soul had sucked in all his teaching and was raring for more – I hated the year to end. I spent the summer holidays recycling his lessons to various more or less willing friends, reading the poems I'd done in class, and repeating his anecdotes. I couldn't wait for the Autumn term to begin. I was to be gravely disappointed – on returning to school I found out that Mr Head was very ill and would need surgery. Occa-

sionally, stalwart that he was, and against medical advice, he would come in and teach us, but most of the lessons were left to foolish and characterless young women. Once we were treated to a lesson by Mrs Fox, the

grande dame of the school, who took us through *Othello* brilliantly – so brilliantly that now her teaching would inevitably be labelled racist by the educational thought police – but the rest of the year was sadly empty.

Ultimately Mr Head, best and most revered of schoolmasters, was forced to retire for reasons of ill health. Surgery could not mend his poor heart enough, even if he had lasted into the 1990's

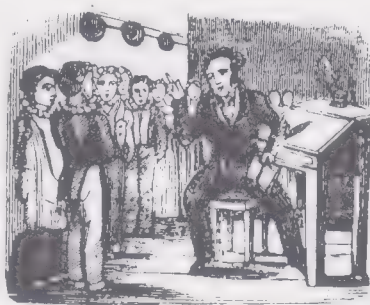
unscathed by the idiocy that took place in our school soon after I left. The best school library in the county was dismantled, excellent old history textbooks and Loeb editions of the classics thrown out to make way for computers and sociology textbooks. Now, eccentricity is banned; learning, except for the utilitarian sort satirized in *Hard Times*, is out of favour; character and variety are crippled in the leg-irons of conformity (ironically misnamed

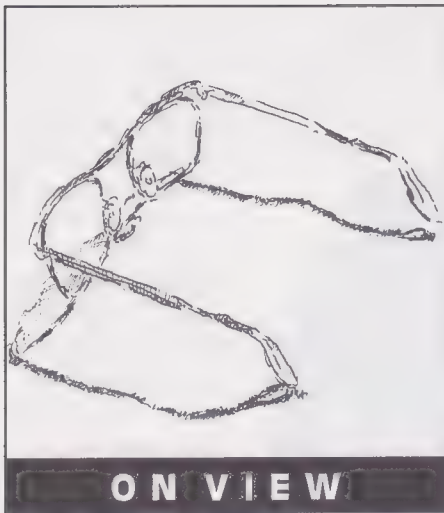
"diversity" by its proponents), and children grow ever more illiterate and innumerate. "What use is English Literature?" cry the unpleasingly named educationists, those Gradgrinds and Inspectors of the education processing factory, "What relevance does it have to the teenager?" The answer is none at all – which is why it is so marvellous! But the Gradgrinds have won, and soon their charges will learn nothing but what relates to their own stupid selves, and what lies above them will be made unavailable to these generations of savages, able only to fornicate and sneer, less educated and less civilized than the poorest child labourer of the 19th century. How Dickens would have laughed, were he not weeping.

Mr Head is dead, Mrs. Fox retired. There will be no more teachers now, only political commissars and play instructors. Mr. Head is dead. What he did cannot be quantified; there are no statistics to encompass him. There is no longer any beautiful English, let alone correct English. It doesn't matter because it is not useful. Mr. Head is no longer useful. A handful of older colleagues attended his funeral. He died unwept and alone. But he will not die unsung; the memory of at least one of his pupils is stocked with elegies that he taught, elegies for just such moments:

*"He hath awakened from the dream
of life
'Tis we, who lost in stormy visions,
keep
With phantoms an unprofitable
strife."*

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Richard Romney considers Dennis Potter's last works.

Last spring, over a span of eight weeks, the BBC and Channel 4 mounted an extraordinary project. Working in close collaboration and using a budget said to run into many millions of pounds, the networks presented the final two plays of Dennis Potter – *Karaoke* and *Cold Lazarus*. The playwright, seriously ill, devoted his final energies to these interwoven dramas, but did not live to see their presentation on television.

Appropriately enough though, Potter gave himself a small non-speaking role in *Karaoke*. This was the story of a seriously-ill writer, Daniel Feeld (powerfully played by Albert Finney), who, on discovering that he would soon die, set out to finish his script for a television play entitled *Karaoke*. Feeld's illness, oiled by excessive drinking and prescribed drugs, was to send him to the edge of insanity. Convinced that his lines were being spoken by people around him, he descended into a strange, fevered paranoia.

Stumbling from place to place through "rainy, melancholy West End streets" (Potter's words) Feeld finds himself in a sleazy karaoke club where, in his half-madness, he sees a young "hostess" – Sandra – whom he later saves from the dreadful club owner, one Arthur "Pig" Malion. In his last hours on earth (or so we think) Feeld signs over much of his will to Sandra, ensuring that she will never have to work again. But the story of Feeld and Sandra is, in the scheme of things, the least interesting part of the drama, for the writer has one other demand in his will.

Feeld is fascinated by cryogenics, the science which explores the possibility of preserving matter at low temperatures. Unmarried and childless, and no doubt driven on by our natural fear of mortality, the writer asks for his body to be frozen after his death. And here begins the second play, *Cold Lazarus* – the chilling finale to the saga.

We find ourselves nearly 400 years into the future. England, which no longer exists as a political entity, is part of a global union. London is a metropolis of vast mushroom-shaped towers which loom over the scarred, half-demolished residue of the city we might have known. A few recognisable buildings and the capital's place-names remain – almost

Cold genius leaves hope for the future

like William Morris's pastoral vision of the future, *News from Nowhere*, in reverse. People no longer congregate together in large numbers and the streets – now the domain of violent dregs – hold endless fears and nightmares for the population.

Television is watched endlessly and a technocratic élite, obsessed with keeping everybody in their place, presides over it all. International TV companies force-feed their version of reality, and sex features prominently on the agenda. A Los Angeles media mogul, the odiously-named David Sylvester Siltz, is on the lookout for a new type of TV entertainment that will sweep the ratings and earn him billions of UniDollars (the currency of the world 400 years from now).

One day, he stumbles across the show for which he has been searching. Siltz, quite by chance, happens to watch a phenomenon in a London laboratory that will, he believes, revolutionise entertainment. Scientists have recovered Daniel Feeld from his deep-frozen state and have 'accessed' his memory. But all that remains of Feeld for the purposes of science is his head, which, gruesomely, has been plugged into an apparatus called the "living wall" – a vast three-dimensional television screen. The cryogenics technicians sit before it and watch in amazement as the writer's brain beams its memories before them.

They see the England of Feeld's childhood and adolescence, the safe and sound England of the 1950s. They watch market day in a Forest of Dean town; they watch the young Daniel at a local dance – an event almost unknown and alien to the people of the future; and they stare in bewilderment at a football match and a Royal visit from Charles and Diana. Siltz, too, is transfixed. He buys off the scientists, "kidnaps" the head and feeds the memories of the past into the studios of his editors.

But other forces are at work – forces which see the head, not as a means of entertainment, but as a means of destroying the system. A revolutionary group of terrorists – the RONS (Reality or Nothing) – are waging a war against the state. Ruthlessly hunted by the State Security Chief, the poisonous Inspector General Colin Challender, the RON Organisation has nevertheless made some high-level converts, including Fyodor Glazunov, one of the scientists.

Glazunov sees Feeld's memories as the greatest revolutionary tool of all. When people see what life was like, so his logic goes, they will rebel. "Let the past accuse!" he exclaims. But gradually he and the chief scientist, Professor Emma Porlock (played by Frances de la Tour) realise a terrible truth. The wired-up head in their laboratory is not just a piece of human anatomy: Feeld, as a person, is still alive and has volition. In a heart-rending scene, the writer – via the living wall – cries out to Fyodor to release him from his torment.

Fyodor, appalled by the moral obscen-

ity of Siltz's project, vows to destroy the head. But Siltz and Challender's police are on Fyodor's track and they corner him in the cryogenics laboratory. Fyodor, though, takes a shot at Siltz and kills him. He then turns the gun at Feeld's head and gives Daniel his "personal guarantee". With one shot the head explodes, destroying most of the research centre and killing Fyodor. Yet the Living Wall survives, and as the flames consume the complex, Daniel's soul is pictured travelling through his life's memories. Suddenly a blinding white light tears through the scene and – 400 years after his death – angels beckon Daniel Feeld to heaven.

Dennis Potter raises many questions in this play – the value of the individual, the power of television, the moral boundaries which science sets itself, and even the type of world we are now creating for generations yet to be born. His answers can sometimes terrify us, but Potter's *Lazarus* – the writer who came back from the dead – gives us ultimate hope. The very fact that the play ends with an almost storybook depiction of angels and heaven – unfashionable iconography today – is further proof of Potter's basic decency and surprising traditionalism.

If the playwright had lived, who knows in which direction his work would have gone? Commonly thought of as liberal and a darling of Melvyn Bragg's trendy *South Bank Show*, Dennis Potter might well have been heading towards a far more conservative standpoint than anyone would have imagined. After all, several leading contemporary figures in the world of literature and the stage made the transition from 'Left' to 'Right'. John Osborne and Malcolm Bradbury were just two of the major writers who woke up to find that liberal late-20th century England was in a state of sickness and cultural decay, so why not Potter?

Even in the nightmare world which may be just 400 years away, there will still exist those men who will fight for civilisation. But, despite this and the promise of angels at the end of it all, let us hope that the author of *Cold Lazarus* is not too much of a prophet and that our offspring will be spared the mushroom towers, television and mind-control of the future. □

New patron

We are pleased to welcome another distinguished new patron.

Professor H. J. Eysenck, PhD, DSc, is one of the world's most distinguished psychologists, and the author of many ground-breaking books and academic articles. His books include *Know your Own IQ*; *Race, Intelligence and Education*; *The Inequality of Man* and *The Decline and Fall of the Freudian Empire*. He is presently Professor Emeritus of Psychology at the University of London.

Hungerford, Dunblane and vested interests – Who's shooting at whom?

JAMES McCULLOCH urges the retention of a long-established civil right

The appalling shootings in the small Scottish town of Dunblane must rate as one of the tragedies of our times.

It is understandable that, in the wake of this ghastly incident, grieving families should demand some kind of justice, some kind of explanation. The obvious target for such castigation is of course the perpetrator of this outrage. However, this monstrous man has rendered himself beyond human justice. So those who wish to obtain an explanation ask "why should this man have been so armed?"

It is a simple step, for the hundreds of thousands who signed the subsequent petition to ask why anyone should be so armed, especially as a previous incident in Hungerford highlighted the problem of those who go berserk with legally held weapons. The 250,000 or so people with handguns are a minority, often regarded as a bunch of 'odd-ball' characters and the protection of the majority is surely more important than such 'minority rights'? This is a powerful and emotive, if slightly hysterical, argument. It is a shame to cloud it with facts in any way, but let me do so anyway.

Three things have not yet received much attention in the media – especially those sections, like the Murdoch press, and television which seem desperate to disarm handgunners. They are personalities, history and statistics.

Personalities: Both the Hungerford and Dunblane maniacs were 'odd-balls', spurned by other shooters, with previous histories of difficulties and known to the police. Hamilton had lost membership of gun clubs, had narrowly escaped prosecution for waving a gun in someone's face (why? you ask!) and had also escaped prosecution for having illegal firearms (why? you ask again!) We now know that a detective sergeant had begged his superintendent to take action on Hamilton's gun licence some years prior to the massacre. I await the Cullen Report for clarification of this 'charmed life' of such a psychopath, whom a first year Psychiatry Student would have had no difficulty in certifying.

In contrast, on the personalities front, the anti-gun lobby has produced a convicted fraudster claiming to be a millionaire, a petition-organising lady whose hysteria ruined an entire Jeremy Paxman programme ('You Decide', BBC TV) and caused a 20 percent swing in favour of hand-gunners thereby (keep up the good work, wee hen!) and a Left-of-centre Tory MP and toe-sucking former Home Office Minister.

History: There is a great deal made of handguns being 'un-English', of our country not being 'like America!' and of our proud tradition of an unarmed police service. These sentiments are expressed with no regard at all for historical facts, or even literature. Have we all forgotten the number of times in Conan Doyle's great works that Sherlock Holmes urged Watson to slip his service revolver into his pocket?

History throws up some interesting challenges to the 'traditionally unarmed' myths. In 1994, the *Security Gazette*, in an article con-

cerning the Post Office Investigation Department, published a photograph of guards on a high value mail van in the early 1900s. There, proud as Punch, stood a guard conspicuously wearing a holster from which protruded the butt of a revolver. Whoops! Even more embarrassingly, Essex Police Museum, in an article on the murder of a constable, confirmed that those PCs on night duty in areas bordering the Metropolitan Police in the early 20th Century could carry a revolver providing they purchased it themselves. HM Customs admitted, by the way, that their personnel had never been formally disarmed and cutlasses and revolvers had merely "not been issued" for some years. All very embarrassing, and topped by another showing on TV of the famous film *The Lavender Hill Mob* where Bank of England armoured car staff are seen to be carrying small self-loading pistols! The Bank's staff, who are technically employees of a nationalised corporation, retain their arms to this day and are trained at the Metropolitan Police/Essex Police range near Lippets Hill in Epping Forest.

So much for myths! How about law?

At the end of the First World War the first serious attempts were made to legislate on firearms. This was prompted by fear of anarchy and of a Communist uprising. Because of the vast number of small police forces then in existence, the Excise Commissioners were used as a co-ordinating national bureau for firearms control. Behind the scenes, the cabinet was fuelled in its paranoia by Sir Basil Thomson, Metropolitan Police Assistant Commissioner and self-styled Director of Intelligence until his disgrace subsequently, after indecently assaulting a servant girl in a Royal Park. He was clearly empire-building with his fuelling of this fear of workers uprisings. The more established branches of Security, led by Sir Vernon Kell at MI5, were not so easily panicked. As we all know, the revolution did not happen but the legislation, like so many ill-advised Acts, remained on the statute books.

In 1954, very quietly, the law prevented the possession of pistols for self-defence. Target shooting became the ostensible reason for pistol possession. Thus, almost silently, the provision on arms in the Bill of Rights of 1689 ceased to exist. In 1967 the screws really began to turn, following the shootings of three police officers in London. A Home Secretary who had abolished hanging – an effective punishment for murder – dealt with the gunmen and their illegal arms by penalising legitimate shooters. In 1988, following Hungerford, the screws were further tightened. Not only was the gunman's principal weapon – the assault rifle – banned, but shotgun rules were tightened.

Statistics: The Home Office admits that since 1945, over a quarter of a million handguns have been handed in or sold via registered dealers and taken out of circulation. Legally, we and Italy are joint second in tightness of gun control in the European Union – Ireland, of course, being tighter.

When the First World War began, armed crime was almost unknown, although in 1911

there took place the famous siege of Sidney Street in the East End, where troops and police waged a "firefight" with armed anarchists, observed by the Secretaries of State for Home and War. National headlines were made in a country where gun control was so lax that civilians approached policemen offering to lend their own revolvers for the battle. A rifleman who made a similar offer at Hungerford was ignored, allowing the slaughter to continue! 80 years later, with our exceptionally tough gun laws, this sort of shooting should not happen. In 1993 armed police, many routinely armed and not needing to borrow a civilian's gun, responded to over 700 armed incidents in England and Wales. The Home Secretary did not personally attend any of these. I doubt if he even stopped stirring his tea!

In 1994 there were, in fact, in excess of 10,000 'armed' crimes. The Home Office says some guns used were legally held. However their reasoning here is suspect as it includes replicas, which are not firearms but are used by robbers to intimidate, and air weapons freely on sale. Every case of vandalism with an air weapon is classed as 'armed crime'. Indeed, the statistics have included cases of persons beaten over the head with unloaded airguns as 'armed crime'. Before this sounds too ridiculous, I should point out that within the UK you are far more likely to be assaulted in this fashion than actually shot!

Thus the Home Office's own figures, as submitted to Lord Cullen, prove only one thing – that statistics can confuse. The anti-gun lobby has seized on the fact that Switzerland – with a fifth of the population of the UK – had three more gun murders in the last year where statistics are available. This shows that, where available, guns are used in murders. This statistic also shows the facts that:

a) Switzerland has fewer murders by other means. We excel in knife murders, for instance. Kitchen knives are misused in this way frequently. There seems to be no outcry to ban these (perhaps chefs are a powerful lobbying group!)

b) There is far less crime in Switzerland in the way of robbery, rape and burglary. This is because its citizens are armed and pre-armed to defend themselves and their property, not something that is encouraged in the UK.

c) About one in two of the Swiss population is legally armed and able to shoot well. This compares to one in two-hundred and twenty in the UK. This puts their three extra murders into some sort of perspective.

d) As to why maniacs do not go berserk in Switzerland, the statistician avoided the obvious answer – that a maniac would be shot before he got ten yards in a country so heavily armed, and suggested instead it was because ammunition was kept in sealed boxes and it was a Federal offence to misuse it. That stops a maniac, doesn't it? The threat of prosecution for misuse of ammo when going berserk. A likely story!

I hope from the above that you will see that it is people, not guns who commit crime. In the 1920s, when we had primitive gun control, armed crime – like all crime – was a rarity. Perhaps it was more to do with other factors? Remember – Ireland and Sicily have severe gun controls. Try telling their populations they have no armed crime!

I would suggest that all right-thinking persons be wary of those who would remove our legal right to own handguns. □

The Council of Conservative Citizens

ROBERT DOLE's lacklustre campaign may be flagging in the polls, but down in the jungle of American Right-wing politics, something is stirring.

RN interviewed Gordon Lee Baum, Chief Executive Officer of the Council of Conservative Citizens to find out more.

This is what Mr Baum had to say about conservative activism in America today.

In 1988, a group of about 40 professional organisers or leaders of various conservative/Right organisations, met in Atlanta, Georgia to address the problem of a lack of effective organization on the right. At the time what passed for organisation was over 60,000 groups in America, often no more than an individual's small following, busily competing with and undercutting one another. There are some excellent large organisations, such as the NRA and Eagle Forum, but they are narrowly focused and single issue type groups. What we were seeking was more of an umbrella organisation that could cover many issues, often related. Then there are the many groups out of the Washington, DC area, that are really just mail order businesses with no true organisation or local chapters, that exploit hot issues, send out slick begging letters, rake in lots of donations, then disappear. What we decided was needed was a permanent organisation of national scope that could cover many issues with emphasis on the local level and activism. A team effort! The Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC) was the result. Never has an American conservative group been formed with so many leaders with such successful experience, ability and knowledge.

I am the Chief Executive Officer, charged with the day to day administration of the CofCC. I work with others to help co-ordinate efforts at the national, state and local level. I also handle much of the national public relations. Our national CofCC president is Tom Dover of Atlanta, Georgia. William D Lord, Jr, of Carrollton, Mississippi, is our Senior Field Coordinator. Claire Bawcom of Franklin, Tennessee, is our national Secretary. We have a national board of directors of 20, and 59 on our national board of advisers.

The CofCC is a national organization, with administration offices in St. Louis, Missouri, and members in every state and six foreign nations. There are now chapters in 21 states, and we are working with members in a dozen other states trying to set up chapters.

We have the support and/or membership



Conservatives gather at the CPAC '96 Convention: (l to r) George Allen - Virginia Republican Governor; Fred C Jennings - Citizens' Informer editor; Gordon Lee Baum - CofCC CEO; Tom Dover - CofCC President; Charlton Heston - actor and conservative activist.

of numerous elected officials, from the local level to Congress, including Senator Jesse Helms (North Carolina), the syndicated columnist, Dr Samuel Francis (Virginia), Senator Trent Lott (Mississippi), Jared Taylor, the editor of *American Renaissance*, (Kentucky), Governor Kirk Fordyce (Mississippi) and Senator Mike Gunn (Mississippi).

The CofCC jointly publishes the *Citizen's Informer*, a quarterly 16-page tabloid newspaper, which spotlights CofCC activities at the national and local levels. In addition, news articles and regular columns are carried, featuring well-known columnists such as Sam Francis, Joe Sobran, Brent Nelson, Llewellyn Rockwell, Rev Robert Slimp, Fr James Thornton, Robert Patterson, and Senator Trent Lott. Members receive the newspaper as part of their membership, but it can be subscribed to independently.

The *Council Reporter* newsletter is sent out twice a year announcing the semi-annual national CofCC meetings and other activities. In addition, many local CofCC chapters publish their own newsletters or newspapers.

The CofCC focuses mainly on local activism because, as former liberal congressman Tip O'Neill so astutely put it, "all politics is local." Even at the federal congressional level, they have to return home to be elected. Most politicians are prostitutes - they will do whatever is necessary to get elected. If they perceive that a group or organised effort is strong enough to help or hurt them more than the competing side, that is who they will cater to. That is how the system works!

Besides, the more you tackle issues at the local level, the more people hear of you, the more will join, the more you gain strength, and the more effective you become. In addition, this philosophy meshes with our

belief in States' Rights. We are opposed to "big government." The closer government is to the people, the more responsive it tends to be. Besides, what is an important issue in one area of the country may not be in another. So, by focusing on issues at the local level, we are reaching the hearts and minds of more Americans.

The CofCC, the no longer silent majority, has been deeply involved in numerous campaigns over the last year, at both the national and local levels. To name just a few: opposing racial quotas and affirmative action programmes; opposing school desegregation and forced busing; opposing gun control; working to get stricter immigration laws passed; voicing opposition to involvement in Bosnia; working for welfare reform; supporting Army Spec Michael New for refusing to serve under UN command; urging education reform, etc. Even though the CofCC is not just a "Southern heritage" group, our strongest base is in the South.

For example, in South Carolina, the CofCC has kept the Confederate Battle flag flying over the state capitol dome. In Mississippi, they have kept it as part of the state flag. We have been involved in rallies and protests throughout the South. In South Carolina, the CofCC was successful with a lawsuit on behalf of students to wear a Confederate flag, and cases are pending in several states.

The CofCC was a co-sponsor with 72 other major conservative organisations of the big annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC'96) held in Washington, DC this year on February 22-24. The CofCC booth in the main hall attracted a large number of visitors, many of whom have since joined our organisation.

Whenever possible, the CofCC works with other conservative groups in local cam-

paigns, meetings and rallies. We now have working relationships with over one hundred other groups and efforts. The CofCC is recognised as a leader in the effort to bring unity to the Right.

The CofCC supports "a sane foreign policy that puts America and America's allies first." The US has many deep problems at home that need our attention. We should not be the world's policemen, sacrificing the lives of our young servicemen (and women) to develop a "new world order." Our nation's efforts and resources should be used to solve our own problems. We can't even control our own borders from drugs and illegal immigrants! Besides, our involvement in other nations' wars and strife only creates envy and enemies.

Most American conservatives admire Margaret Thatcher and compare her to President Ronald Reagan. Most would probably compare PM John Major to Bush or Dole - a *Milquetoast*. Keep in mind that, thanks to our deplorable education system, most Americans are not very knowledgeable about

foreign nations. Many would have a hard time finding England on a map.

If the Republican Party continues to ignore the cultural conservative issues and loses the election against Clinton, easily this nation's worst President, and especially if it loses control of Congress, there is a real possibility that a conservative third party will arise from the ashes. If the Republicans snatch defeat from the jaws of victory and lose, it will prove they are the "stupid" party.

The CofCC does not contribute to or endorse candidates for office. But we permit many candidates to address our meetings and we urge members to get involved. We polled our members and the vast majority supported Buchanan, and many were very active in his campaign throughout the nation.

While the Christian Right/Coalition is important and well-organized, their strength and influence is highly overestimated. They are primarily focused on "abortion" and a few other issues. We in the CofCC consider

ourselves more "cultural conservatives" and the issues we espouse have much greater popular support. It is with these issues and the support of cultural conservatives that conservative candidates can have the greatest impact. All have to be included in a "conservative" coalition. Unfortunately, many Christian Coalition types are not conservative except on a few issues.

Illegal immigration has to be halted. There should be a moratorium on legal immigration, as advocated by Pat Buchanan. Welfare has to be reformed to keep from encouraging high illegitimate birth rates. European-Americans have to cease using abortion as birth control. And all must be done as soon as possible, otherwise, the US will become a Third World country and partition looms. □

For further information write to :

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Or call: (+1) 314-291-8474.

Alien arithmetic

John Ashford hazards a guess at the cost of economic refugees

When the government speaks of cutting public spending and pruning the welfare state, there is at least one expensive item which is never taken into account, possibly because no-one knows the probable scale of the problem. This nebulous item is the economic refugee industry - the ERI.

According to John Tincey, director of information and research with the Immigration Service Union, quoted in a November 1995 article in the *Daily Telegraph*: "Our working estimate is that there are one million illegal immigrants in Britain, but some people would put it nearer two million. It is certainly the experience of our members that they are extremely easy to find when the authorities have a mind to do so". A recent *Sunday Telegraph* report (28 July 1996) puts the figure for London at an estimated three-quarters of a million. An investigation by the *Sunday Express* in February 1995 puts the figure at an estimated 1,500,000 nationally with between 750,000 and a million living in London alone. These figures are likely to rise. According to *Der Spiegel* (Issue 34, 1996), using figures supplied by Hungarian border police to their German counterparts, 650,000, mainly Indians and Chinese, are waiting in the Ukraine to move into western Europe - mostly to the United Kingdom, which is regarded as the softest touch. This is just one route into western Europe.

Some of these illegals may be included in the published unemployment figures, or may be holding down jobs which the unemployed can do. Many undoubtedly claim unemployment benefit. There is evidence of large scale fraud and racketeering. The Health and Safety Executive estimates there are at least 200 illegal factories in east London alone. In one such factory in Tottenham investigated

by the *Sunday Telegraph*, 200 men and women were squashed together along cramped trestle tables, beside windows shuttered from the outside. Most were Turkish immigrants, many of whom were working without permits.

Economic refugees often seem to get housing priority. However many youngsters running away from home may be sleeping in shop doorways, economic refugees are conspicuously absent. If we turn to housing associations, we see one reason why. There are over 60 housing associations for non-Europeans only. Some have obvious non-European names, such as the Oldham Islamic Housing Association. Some are reputable; many are not. It was a pity that the *Sunday Telegraph* did not extend its investigation to find where those Turkish workers slept in London on their £150 per week tax-free.

In 1991, Judith Barnes, when Tory leader on Camden Council, found that the Labour Council was putting newly arrived families from Bangladesh and Somalia into luxury mews houses at a cost to the council of between £16,000 and £21,000 per family per year. In Hackney, 4,000 families who had never been on the housing list were found living in council houses. Labour MPs attacked the Home Office when it decided to investigate this widespread corruption. Millions of pounds have been stolen from local authorities in massive and systematic housing benefit frauds. Heather Rabbatts, Lambeth Council's new Chief Executive, told the Commons Social Security Select Committee that the problem was much worse in Lambeth than previously supposed. Since Lambeth had begun looking for organised bogus claimants by visiting addresses and checking how many people really lived there, 4,000 private

landlords had suddenly disappeared from the housing benefit register. Miss Rabbatts said that, almost certainly, those 4,000 were mainly false names that had been created by professional gangs. At one house in Lambeth, her officers found 50 people supposedly living and claiming housing benefit. After the damning report by Elizabeth Appleby QC on the council, she sacked 60 staff for fraud (*Independent*, 8 July 1996).

In education we find evidence of further massive costs. In Kensington and Chelsea which, like other councils, has a legal obligation to provide for children's education, the annual number of children arriving from East Africa has risen from 4 to 41 in three years. It will have to spend 2.5 million next year caring for the 129 youngsters now in its care. Neighbouring Westminster has 58 such children who will cost £877,000 to provide for. Even the Ethiopian embassy admits they are sent here for economic reasons, now that there is no longer any civil war. A report stated that word is spreading that the British authorities will care for and educate unaccompanied children even through to university (*Times*, 12 February 1995). The £3,377,000 being spent by just these two local authorities on economic refugees could pay for a £30 per week pay rise for 2,000 nurses, or 200 police on the beat at £15,000 per annum. Bearing the brunt of this in the schools are our youngsters whose education is held back by the huge numbers of pupils who do not speak English.

There are almost unguessable health costs concerned, too. Hundreds infected with HIV, for example, are moving to Britain to take advantage of welfare benefits, including free housing and tax-free cars. Some councils have had to employ extra staff to cope with rising numbers of HIV-positive cases. For example, an Irish couple with three children get a 34% increase in benefits - or £48.05 per week - by moving to Britain. If a member

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NO, NO, NO...

Future generations and historians will look back on this period and shake their heads in amazement. Why, they will ask, did the politicians allow the juggernaut of European federalism to keep on rolling when everyone could see it was on the wrong road? After all, can there now be anyone left who doubts that the Euro-sceptics – who should henceforth be known as Euro-realists – were right all along?

Take the latest batch of signposts pointing the other way. In July we learned that an independent study by Ernst & Young, using the Treasury's economic model, forecast that for Britain to meet the Maastricht criteria for joining a single currency by 1999 we would have to raise the basic rate of income tax by *at least* 4p, interest rates would have to rise *at least* 8 or 9%, and half a million jobs would be lost. In August the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee issued a report stating that the government was badly underestimating the federalist ambitions of the other Member States, and that we faced isolation and confrontation in the current inter-governmental conference (IGC) which is deciding the future of Europe. They ridiculed the government's line that the IGC was no more than a "5,000 mile service on the Maastricht Treaty", and said that in reality it "would be more akin to fitting a turbo charger than carrying out a routine service". Another all-party committee of MPs, this time the Commons Treasury Committee, also gave a resounding 'NO' to government policy – or rather, in this case, deliberate lack of policy. Only a week after John Major had given an interview to the *Times* stating that it was right to keep an open (or is that 'empty'?) mind on the issue of the single currency, the Treasury Committee reported that if we are to join in 1999 then preparations (such as legislation to make the Bank of England independent) would have to be introduced right after the general election next spring. It would therefore clearly be absurd of the government to go into the election saying it had no view on economic and monetary union (EMU), and then as soon as it was over to decide to join up.

But then 'absurd' is a word that repeatedly came to mind when I read that John Major interview. What particularly struck me was his answer on EMU: "How could I defend my position to the City, to industry – to the British people – if I said that on the most important economic issue for 50 years or more, I was going to withdraw from the debate now, and let the Europeans take the decisions on their own, with no British input, even though we would be vitally affected". As the *Times* pointed out, "This is both disingenuous and misleading. All the big decisions have already been taken. ... Coming off the fence is no longer a matter of appeasing Euro-sceptics. It is simply what has to happen". What also worries me is that if Major believes that Britain will be "vitally affected" by EMU even if we were to remain outside it, then the argument that it is wrong to "withdraw from the debate now" will always apply, and we



will perforce have to join the single currency. He is wrong, of course, and outside EMU, Britain, with a freely floating currency, would have a distinct advantage over EMU member states, and dealing with a federal economy with a single currency across the English Channel will be no different from doing so with the one across the Atlantic. The most revealing part of Major's statement is his description of EMU as "the most important economic issue for 50 years or more". This shows that he has no understanding of the loss of sovereignty which EMU would lead to. EMU is not just – or even mainly – an economic issue; it is at the heart of whether we are to remain a free country or become just a small and unimportant region of a centralised and bureaucratic foreign superstate.

The funniest part of Major's statement is the suggestion that the City, industry and the public would be outraged at a decision now that we will retain the pound. The notion that the City would be harmed by remaining outside EMU can only be held by those who know nothing about it. But don't take my word for it. Ask someone who is completely independent, such as Haruko Fukuda, Deputy Chairman of Nikko Europe plc, who states "It is glibly asserted that membership of the single currency is a *sine qua non* for a European financial centre aspiring to maintain world status. I would suggest that quite the opposite may be true... Those who have major operations in London are currently concerned that

the City may irreversibly be cemented into a generally restrictive and regulated European system in which the dynamic qualities of the City may be stifled". 'But what about our industry' the Euro-traitors will say, 'They surely want to be part of a single currency'. Wrong again. The Institute of Directors recently produced a paper on this subject which explained that under EMU our interest rates, decided by the European Central Bank, would be a compromise between the rates appropriate for the various member states. "The compromise rate which would be right for most of the EU would be wrong for Britain", the IOD declares. "If Britain has inappropriate interest rates, the economic consequences could be disastrous. If too low, there would be overheating and inflation. If too high, then recession". The IOD concludes that we should decide "for economic and business reasons", that the UK should not join EMU and the single currency "for the foreseeable future". The IOD also agree that there is no evidence that either inward investment or the City would be harmed by our remaining outside EMU.

With such overwhelming evidence it is hardly surprising that the Euro-realist argument grows ever stronger and gains new supporters. The latest 'sinner' who has converted is David Heathcoat-Amory, who had the courage and integrity to resign as Paymaster-General and publish a pamphlet showing that EMU would lead to Britain paying much more to Brussels, and the government losing the ability to pursue the economic policies the people had voted for. A federal European Union, he concluded, would need a budget "on a scale so far considered unrealistic or impossible". The message is getting through to the public. A recent poll showed that 72% now consider the European issue to be either important or extremely important, and whereas 15% would like Britain to join the single currency, 45% would like Major to rule this out, at least for the next parliament. If he did so, the poll found, 24% said they would be more likely to vote Conservative (as opposed to 12% who would be less likely). So when Kenneth Clarke is reported as saying that without its divisions on Europe the Tories would be 10 points better off in the polls he is right (for once), but the blame rests with him, not us Euro-realists. Indeed, we must now redouble our efforts to persuade Major to reject the single currency, for the good of the country and the Party. As Heathcoat-Amory said: "What are politicians for? Why are we here? When something is clearly wrong for this country, we should reject it ... We will become the national party; it's only a question of when and how".

HANDGUN HYSTERIA

The greatest danger to our freedom today comes from intolerant protest movements and nannying 'liberal' do-gooders. Take the most recent example – those campaigning to ban the legal ownership of handguns. Of course the deaths at Dunblane and Hungerford were

tragic, but to argue that all 60,000 registered gun owners should be penalised because of the actions of two of their number is emotional hysteria.

You might as well say that all sports where people are occasionally killed – such as mountaineering or hang-gliding – should be banned. Far fetched? Not at all. This is exactly what is happening, with calls for boxing to be banned, even though horse-riding and rugby are far more dangerous. Banning hand guns would have no practical effect on crime, as 96% of firearms used in crime have never been licensed, and we frequently read in the press how easy it is to obtain illegal guns. Those dewy-eyed campaigners for the criminalisation of gun-ownership claim that they have the support of the police. Even were this true, so what? Of course some policemen would like to ban everything and anything that might possibly, however remotely, lead to crime. But if the police were the final arbiters of what is right we would be living in a police state! The fact is that most of us prefer democracy and freedom. The question 'why should people be allowed to own guns?' is the wrong one. If you believe in freedom the question should be 'why *shouldn't* people own guns?' and if the only reply is that 1 in 30,000 gun owners might commit a crime, the answer to that is that nothing comes free in this world, least of all freedom.

The price of freedom is that that freedom can be abused, but the solution is not to abolish freedom but to punish those who abuse it. Let us be ruled by reason and logic, not pathetic emotionalism. Although experience from America has shown that where law-abiding citizens are allowed to carry guns the result is a fall in street crime, any call for similar rights here would be met with horror. Congratulations to the Conservative MPs on the Home Affairs Select Committee on handguns who were able to resist the hysteria.

RIGHT NOW! RIGHT AGAIN

I do not wish to brag, you understand, but this column does seem to have a habit of being proved right by events.

In the last issue I pointed out the stupidity of the government's appointment of Lord Bingham as Lord Chief Justice in view of the increasing tendency for judges to create their own laws. Within weeks Lord Bingham clashed with the government over the role of the judiciary. In a public speech Lord Bingham also made clear that judges would continue to make the law in the courts, in the "organic, incremental development of equity and the Common Law". As a report in the *Times* pointed out, the practice of law-making by judges (as opposed to their traditional role of law-implementation) has become so common that "the key questions now are *when* should judges become inventive and how far should they go?"

Surely, if there is a need for 'inventive-ness' this should come from MPs and not from judges, who are "an unelected and largely unaccountable body whose members carry no

public mandate". But the government's stupidity in its appointments doesn't end there. In July Chris Green resigned as chief executive of English Heritage following a report about "alleged administrative irregularities". Simple misfortune you might think, but the fact is that Chris Green had previously resigned from his job at British Rail over the government's privatisation plans, so he was obviously not 'one of us' and should never have been appointed to English Heritage in the first place.

In the last issue this column also condemned *The Girlie Show* and the increase in bullying by girls. Within days the Broadcasting Standards Council joined in, criticising *The Girlie Show* and similar garbage programmes for their preoccupation with "scatological, sexual or generally tasteless behaviour... As the number of such programmes increases, the Council feels obliged to ask why the broadcasters feel it necessary to pander to the lowest rather than the highest standards in this area". A report by researchers at Exeter University was also published showing that 34.5% of 13 year-old girls are frightened of being bullied at school, and even among 16 year-old girls the level of fear was 17.2%.

My criticism of those journalists who were reporting the burning down of some black churches in America as if this was evidence of widespread white 'racism' was vindicated by the recent news that those arrested for these offences include 14 *blacks*.

In January I looked at law and order and pointed out that while the police and the Crown Prosecution Service insist on prosecuting people who defend themselves and their property, juries will almost always return verdicts of 'not guilty'. Weeks later a businessman was cleared after shooting a suspected burglar in the leg, and in August a farmer who shot a thief with a 12 bore shotgun was also cleared by a jury. My article also pointed out that imprisonment was not the best solution to juvenile crime and that corporal punishment and making parents responsible for the crimes committed by their children would be better. *The Sunday Times* recently reported that "A draft report from the Audit Commission, the watchdog of government spending, proposes that parents be forced to compensate the victims of their children's crimes and contribute to the costs they impose on the state. Teenage tearaways would remain their responsibility until the age of 18". Can it be long before corporal punishment is vindicated?

I revealed last year that, in the words of Michael Bennett (Chairman of the Metropolitan Police Federation), "the police service has suddenly declared war on men", and had this confirmed a few months later by the victory in an industrial tribunal (reported in *RN!* 11) of sergeant Leslie White who was told that he must apologise to a female officer (even though her allegations against him of sexual harrassment where "wholly unjustified"), because "you can't hope to win against a woman these days".

Last year I also complained about 'political correctness' in broadcasting, and in particular the way that men are always portrayed as either feckless, wicked or stupid. I'm now in good company, because the Bishop of Hull has also complained about the lack of decent male role models for young people.

I also pointed out last year that the army was no place for women, and we now learn that up to 70 American women soldiers have had to be sent home from Bosnia after getting pregnant. It seems they took the name of the peacekeeping operation, 'Joint Endeavour', a little too literally! The *Times* reports that "experts said officers have known since the Gulf War, when pregnancies emerged as a safe ticket home, that sex in the ranks hurts effectiveness. But they said commanders were unable to do much to curb it, given the Clinton Administration's emphasis on promoting sexual equality in the armed forces".

Finally, following my report that most secretaries consider sexual banter by men in the office to be no bad thing, I read in *The European* that "the world's first flirt-for-profit seminar is to be held in Vienna". Psychologist Brigitte Boesenkopf says that flirting should be "a vital part of any healthy company, increasing productivity and sales and improving the social climate and customer relations". Several large Austrian companies are among her clients, and the report confirms that "Boesenkopf has organised business seminars offering tips for top executives and examining the connection between motivation and flirting". "Up to now a flirt was seen as a taboo in business life" she is quoted as saying, "this is a mistake. Most people spend a large part of their life at their working place. Due to the spatial proximity, people automatically make contact. The well-being at your job to a large extent depends on whether these contacts are satisfying".

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The Politics of Faith & The Politics of Scepticism

Michael Oakeshott (edited by Timothy Fuller), Yale University Press, 1996, 140pps, £20.00

Michael Oakeshott (1901-90) was one of this country's great intellectual dissidents. His thoughts were constrained within a modest output, and expressed in such an unfashionably idealist idiom that there are many modern works of political philosophy where his name does not even muster an index entry – not through any inherent malice, but simply because his ideas seem of no relevant concern.

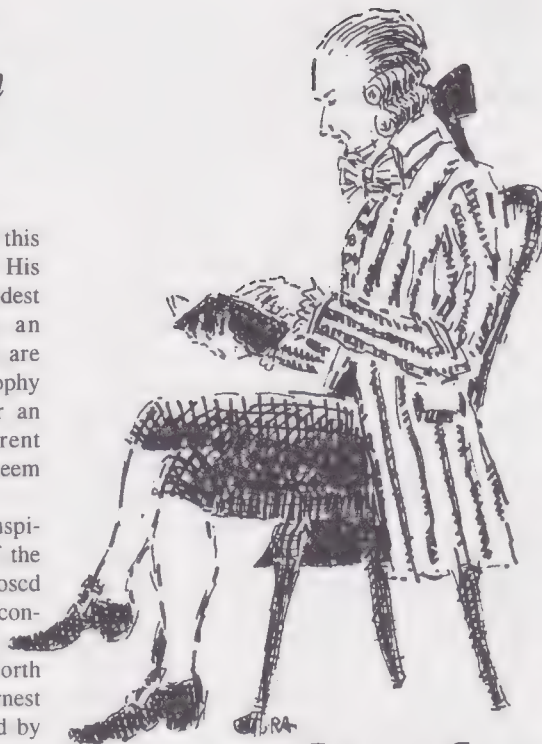
Oakeshott was temperamentally suspicious of those who were enamoured of the value of political activity and its supposed benefits. When asked about his views concerning the European Community, he retorted that such an issue was not worth commenting on. Sitting alongside an earnest Margaret Thatcher, he was unimpressed by the discussions conducted by Scruton's Conservative Philosophy Group. It is well-known that Hayek's dogma left him cold. On another occasion he memorably declared that politics was best left to socialists.

Such a detached view of political activity belied a profound appreciation of the place of politics in human affairs. Most of his published output was centred upon this most fundamental of subjects. This third posthumous publication is no different.

In this essay, Oakeshott posits two distinct styles of politics that exist at the opposite ends of the modern political spectrum – the politics of faith (“the enterprise of the minute direction by government of all activities of the subject in the service of perfection”) and the politics of scepticism (“not the undefined guardianship over the activities of the subject, but the performance of certain public duties”).

Writing this essay during the early 1950s, it was clear to Oakeshott that the gravity of political activity had swung towards the pole of perfection. Oakeshott desired to comment upon this trend by re-animating the arguments for the politics of scepticism. It is entirely typical of the author to refuse to fall into the trap of adopting the sceptic's position himself. At the end of the day scepticism, like faith, lets you down: “Demanding neither love nor gratitude but only respect, this style of government will receive indifference or even contempt. While faith suffers the nemesis of excess, scepticism is deprived of its authority by its moderation.”

But moderation is, in Oakeshott's view, of far greater value than the excess of faith since the latter, where politics is concerned, ends in either tyranny or wretchedness. Oakeshott writes approvingly of the “politics of the mean” which, while gravitating towards the sceptical pole, does not make the mistake of making such scepticism a



Books

“Reading maketh a full man” – Bacon

paralysing dogma. Such dogma he attributes to libertarians who, Oakeshott rightly points out, have little to sustain the world of practical politics.

Taking his cue from Halifax's *The Character of a Trimmer*, Oakeshott outlines the politics of the mean by way of his favourite metaphor: “The trimmer is one who disposes his weight so as to keep the ship upon an even keel. He will be found facing in whatever direction the occasion seems to require if the boat is to go even. Nevertheless, his changes of direction will be neither frequent, sudden nor great.”

It is, in other words, an argument for continuity and tradition and an acceptance that human institutions change through time. But government will only initiate such change where force of circumstance requires a settled and established procedure to be modified in order to ensure its consistency with other practices. It is not an edifying prescription and Oakeshott has been criticized often enough for such restraint. But for those who despair of the temporary enthusiasms and absurd hyperactivity of modern politics, it is a philosophy that is always a most welcome palliative.

Robert Whitehouse

You Couldn't Make It Up

Richard Littlejohn, Heinemann, London, hb, £9.99, ISBN 0-434-00238-0

Anyone hearing of the recent criminalization of the Labour Party by its own ‘equal opportunities’ legislation must have had a heart of

stone not to have laughed themselves into hysteria. Those who want to laugh till they cry should read Richard Littlejohn.

In this first volume of collected articles and essays he parades his pet hates, chief among which are *Guardian* readers. He attacks with zest the serried ranks of inter-ferrers, prodnoses, busybodies and mischief makers who are paid and subsidized, as he repeatedly points out, by us, the persecuted. Other targets are the politically correct and their inquisition, the AIDS industry, the Europehearts, prison ‘reformers’, ‘stress counsellors’, soft judges and softer bishops, the phoney ‘disabled’ – a million more of whom have appeared over the horizon in the past fifteen years – the ‘multi-cultural’ racketeers, the greedy and grasping bosses of the privatised industries, Cabinet Ministers and all the other ‘plankton’ (as he calls it) of progressive life in modern Britain.

His is a voice which speaks for millions, and thousands write to tell him so every week. It must not be thought, however, that he merely puts into forceful language the gut instincts of the sane majority. The best of the essays in the book are those which deploy a battery of facts to blast the enemy out of his trenches, as for example the piece on the European Union, “When the Boat Comes In – For Good”, the opening piece, “Snouts in the Trough”, or “The Good Life” which focuses on welfare scroungers. Given Richard Littlejohn's views on the European Union, and especially on Edward Heath whom he diagnosis as “EU Positive”, it is difficult to understand why he does not see that the monarchy, *qua* monarchy is the last defence of British sovereignty against subjugation by the Fascist Grand Council in Brussels, but then even with someone who is so right about so much, you cannot have everything.

Anthony Cooney

There is an Alternative – Britain and its Relationship with the EU

Burkitt, Baimbridge and Whyman, Campaign for an Independent Britain, 1996, pb, 111pps, £4.50

This is the third CIB publication by Burkitt and Baimbridge, following *What 1992 Really Means* (1989) and *From Rome to Maastricht* (1992). Comparing them, what is most noticeable is the increasing length (45, 69 and 111 pages respectively) of each successive publication. No doubt this is due to the increasingly baleful consequences of our EU membership.

Following a preface by Norman Lamont and a foreword by Peter Shore, Chapter 1 looks at the past cost of EU membership – trade, the EU budget, CAP, fishing, VAT and loss of self-government. This is followed by an analysis of the current cost of

the European Union – the ERM, the single market and the Maastricht convergence criteria. Chapter 3 examines the likely future costs, principally EMU. Chapter 4 briefly surveys the politics of European integration, followed by a chapter on the detrimental impact of EU membership on the UK's relationship with the rest of the world. The last chapter, which is really the book's *raison d'être*, explores alternatives to further EU integration – the status quo, membership of the European Economic Area (the Norwegian option), free trade on industrial and financial commodities (the Swiss option) and withdrawal (the Greenland option).

The authors have, in my view, hit just the right note. While favouring withdrawal, they are under no illusions about the ease with which this will be accomplished. Their economics are Left wing and will not appeal to everyone – including Norman Lamont, who makes clear his disagreement with some opinions. But this is all to the good, giving the lie to the perception that the Euro-sceptic movement, and CIB in particular, is just a Right-wing Tory faction.

My only criticisms are quibbles. An injustice is done to Lord Lawson (p23), who is lumped with Howe and Hurd in favouring ERM membership as a means of pursuing European integration. Lawson explains in his memoirs that he supported the ERM purely as a financial discipline. This slight is partly rectified later (p103), where he is quoted as observing that "Economic and monetary union is incompatible with sovereign states with control over their own fiscal and monetary policies". Also, an index in such a fact-laden publication would have been helpful, although the blank page at the back is useful for making notes.

In conclusion, this is a devastating critique of Britain's EU membership. But rather than spend £4.50, why not join CIB (£10 per annum; senior citizens, students and unwaged £5), and you can have it at the reduced price of £3.

Michael Hughes

The Sett

Ranulph Fiennes, Heinemann,
London, hb, 502 pps, £15.99

This book is trying to be like the *Day of the Jackal*. It is very long and obviously well-researched. It is based on a true event and many of the characters are real.

The plot is on two levels. On one level, it is the story of the horribly callous and sadistic murder of a little girl and her mother who accidentally interrupt some men in the act of badger baiting. These men are, of course, criminals – but some are international criminals. The father of the family is naturally traumatised, but then slowly recovers, to take his revenge. The other level is much more complex, involving – inevitably – the CIA and the drugs trade, although I could never quite grasp the plot. It just seemed to

be too tedious a chore.

Although the book is long, it is also lazy. Fiennes cannot be bothered to invent new figures of speech, but is content to use old ones. One character is "as happy as a sandboy". They "keep their noses clean" and also "a low profile". He is also unobservant. He thinks that ordinary middle-class English people commonly use the word 'brunch'. One character says: "I was brought up in Dresden, a cultural city of baroque magnificence". Who speaks like that? And is not Dresden rococo anyway? Details are deployed. A gun is not just a gun. It is a 9mm SIG pistol or a Heckler & Koch MP5 sub-machine gun. Acronyms and initials are sprayed at the reader – SWAT, LAPD, RICO, IRS, CISPES, AWACS – this is only a small selection. This is only adolescent list-making, not true heart and feeling. The tone of the book is well illustrated by the humourless and aggressive photograph of the explorer author on the back cover (surprisingly not by Jerry Bauer).

Yet I read it from cover to cover over a 24 hour period, although not thoroughly – it is not good enough to warrant close attention – but with a certain shameful eagerness. At this point I should candidly explain that the sex described is highly pornographic and the action sequences vivid in the extreme.

Roger Alsop

Returning Home

Raymond Tong, University of Salzburg
Press, Salzburg, 1996, pb, 68 pps, £7.95

Retired educationalist Raymond Tong has been writing poetry for decades, and has published several collections, as well as various educational and travel books. His style is characterised by an appealing directness and a deceptive simplicity. "I have always believed that a poem must have something to say" he says in his preface to this collection, and all his poems are consistent with that aim. This stylistic modesty aside, there is much else in his work that will appeal to readers of this journal.

Although a broad human sympathy, borne of his decades of living in the Third World, runs through all his verse, this does not preclude a deep sense of place. Tong is conscious of belonging bone and sinew to his English homeland, and he rejoices in this visceral attachment, while understanding that others will have their own irrational allegiances, their own ancient loyalties, their own iconography, which may be alien without there being any necessity for animus.

His recollection of a conversation with an African politician has an echo of Horace's famous dictum that a man may change his skies, but not his heart: "This is black man's country / and I do not belong here....I will return to the landscape / I have always carried with me". His single most obvious political belief is that the English must reassert their national identity as a matter of urgency

to avoid "falling away into everywhere and nowhere". "No longer such a happy breed / And soon, perhaps, no breed at all..." he warns in *Other Eden*. "Lord, grant to the people of England / the grace to remember who they are" runs his *English Prayer*. He detests the besetting sin of sociologists: "Your concern to preserve identities / of immigrants suggests a man who cares. / And yet, Professor, not a single word / About the natives slowly losing theirs". He is surprised by and concerned about English deracination: "While usually the Scots are Scottish / the Irish are Irish, the Welsh are Welsh, / the English are very rarely English".

As well as his clear-eyed views on the necessity for patriotism, Tong's other observations on society ring true: "I wonder if I am only imagining / that more and more people talk to themselves / as though pondering some terrible dilemma / the young often angry and aggressive / the old quieter yet clearly troubled". He is right on target when decrying the rationalist *Arbiters*: "Here the blandly smiling arbiters decide / how to present the awkward and unacceptable / what should be disclosed and what withheld / Most of the media, unlike a Ministry / of Love, does not persuade us what to think, / but much more subtly, what not to think".

Nebulous, vaguely sinister figures like these are continually compared, to their disadvantage, with the real people he has met during his varied life, like the little Punjabi girl selling shoes, a mere face momentarily but unforgettably lifted out of a Lucknow crowd, and a self-reliant West African bronze-caster: "When I suggested how he might improve a head / the Benin bronze-caster glared at me. / The integrity of his words left little unsaid: / "So I mak' em. An' so ee be!" He often writes of the personal aspects and the human dilemmas of colliding cultures, as in *A Moslem Friend's Lament*: "I'll vote with my feet and go away. / I do not like this country any more. / My soul is far too high a price to pay"; or the archetypal *Kurdish Child*: "You are the future for which the present dies / You are their promise of a brighter tomorrow".

Tong is obviously an idealist. There is something of Julian Grenfell in the obviously personally significant poem he has translated from the French: "I touch again with shining eyes and trembling hands / this earth and sky of ours that have never betrayed us" (from *France Retrouvée* by Jean Tardieu). But he is also calm and accepting. With youth a clear but distant memory, he can now assess the limitations and potential of life: "Love is old cracked china, / broken packing cases, toys in the loft", while on the *Day of Reckoning*: "In the end he would stay. Accepting / once more the need for compromise / he would assist the bad against the worse". This credo, and these poems, are conducive to sanity in an imperfect world.

Derek Turner

EGALITARIAN DOGMAS

by J Philippe Rushton



Whatever one may think of the disputatious ideas espoused by some academics, all conservatives must deplore attempts to quash free academic expression. An English victim of latter-day witch-hunting tells his story.

A campaign recently carried out against racism by the Commission for Racial Equality features a poster of four brains designed and donated by the advertising firm of Saatchi and Saatchi. Three of the brains are the same size and are labelled "African," "Asian," and "European." The fourth brain, much smaller than the others, is labelled "Racist."

The campaign was backed by a variety of personalities from the music world. MTV donated weeks of free air-time to transmit the television advert. Other campaign events included a school's speaker service where young people learned about the problems and misery that racism brings. A National Music Week featured concerts and other events in clubs and venues up and down Britain.

Both scientific and political objections can be made to this campaign. Scientifically speaking, the results from numerous modern studies converge on the conclusion that the brains of East Asians (Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese) and their descendants average about 17 cm³ (1 in³) larger than do those of Europeans and their descen-

dants whose brains average about 80 cm³ (5 in³) larger than do those of Africans and their descendants. This racial gradient has been established using three different procedures: wet brain weight at autopsy, volume of empty skulls using filler, and volume estimated from external head sizes. Recently, more sophisticated techniques including magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) have confirmed the findings by *in vivo* three-dimensional images of the brain. Thus, the poster campaign by the Commission for Racial Equality is spreading false information.

Brain size is related to cognitive ability. A review of the world literature on this subject, published in the 1996 issue of *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review* found the overall correlation between Magnetic Resonance Imaged brain size and IQ was 0.44, about the same magnitude as the correlation between socioeconomic status and IQ. Moreover, as Professor Richard Lynn showed (*RN*, issue 9), the international gradient in IQ also runs from East Asians to Africans. East Asians typically average IQs in the range of 101 to 111; Europeans average 85 to 115 with an overall mean of 100; and Africans average from 70 to 90.

Racial differences in brain size and intelligence show up early in life. Data from the US National Collaborative Perinatal Project on 19,000 black children and 17,000 white children showed that black children had a smaller head

perimeter at birth and at 4 and 7 years of age even though, by age 7, black children were larger in body size than white children. In both black and white children, head perimeter at birth predicted IQ test scores at age 7.

For the past decade or so, my research has focused on assessing racial difference in brain size and intelligence, sexual habits and fertility, personality and temperament, and speed of maturation and longevity. Startling and alarming to many people is my conclusion that if all people were treated the same, most racial differences would not disappear. In my book *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*, I document that Asians and Africans consistently average at opposite ends of a continuum ranging over 60 anatomical and social variables, with Europeans intermediate. Based on my studies, I have proposed a gene-based evolutionary theory of racial patterns.

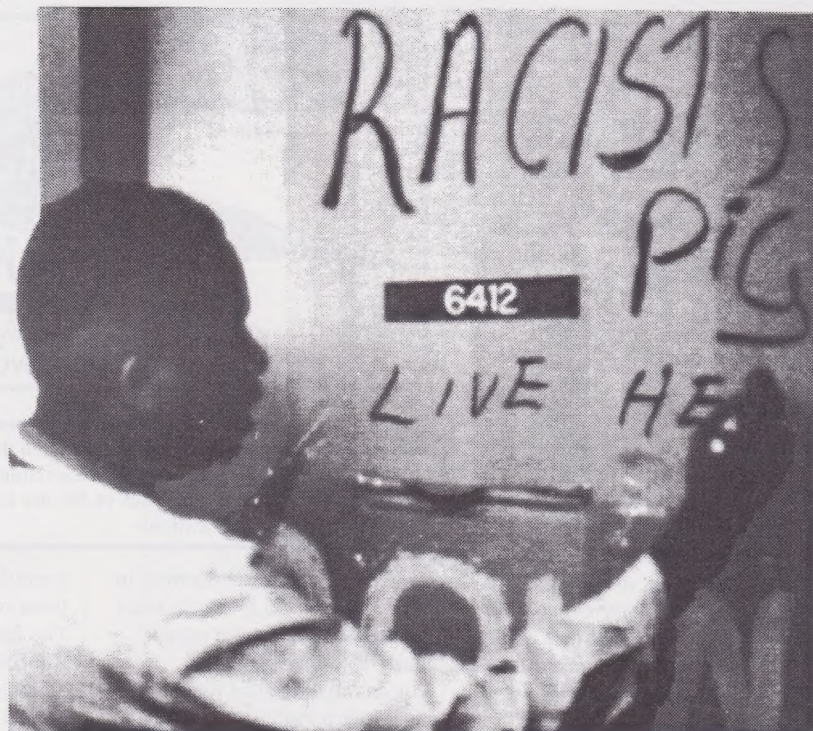
Now to the politics. The fallout from my work has been intense. After my findings became public at the 1989 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the premier of Ontario called for my dismissal, and the Ontario Attorney General's office launched a six month investigation of whether I had contravened "hate laws". The Ontario Human Rights Commission carried out a four-year investigation of whether I had "poisoned the learning environment" before they unceremoniously dropped

the investigation. I was excoriated by the media and harassed by demonstrators at the university, culminating in being forced by the administration to teach classes by videotape, allegedly for my own protection. Of course, it could be worse. In many countries, people are jailed or executed for voicing unacceptable scholarly opinions.

Stories of harassment and intimidation could be told by almost everyone who has had the temerity to research topics that touch on the genetic or distributional basis of racial differences. This is one of academia's best known shames about which little is ever done. As a graduate student at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1973, I witnessed a physical assault on Professor HJ Eysenck who was then studying the biological basis of intelligence and had recently published *Race, Intelligence, and Education* (1971). The slogan of that day was "Fascists have no right to speak," and Eysenck became a target for attack. No legal charges were brought for the widely witnessed assault because another popular slogan of the 1960s for those who approved the message but disapproved the tactic was "No enemies on the Left." Assaults and harassments of one form or another have been visited on a long list of academics familiar to me, including TJ Bouchard at the University of Minnesota, L Gottfredson at the University of Delaware, R Herrnstein and EO Wilson at Harvard University, AR Jensen and V Sarich at the University of California at Berkeley, M Levin at City College of New York, and R Lynn at the University of Ulster.

Only "one-party science" exists with respect to group differences in brain size and intelligence. Irrespective of religious background, or political affilia-

Social activist scrawls "Racists pig lives here" (sic) on the door of psychology Professor Philippe Rushton's office, at the University of Western Ontario



tion, virtually all Western intellectuals adhere to the "egalitarian fiction." Politically correct hypotheses centering on cultural disadvantage and "white racism" are given illegitimate prominence in explaining minority problems. If the government would stop taking sides, and if more scientists would speak openly about the views they now voice only in private, our world could become not only a safer place, but a more enlightened one as well.

Readers seeking more information on the race/IQ issue should see *Commentary* (August 1995), the special issue of *Current Anthropology* (February 1996), Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve*, and my *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*. □

J Philippe Rushton is a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow and Professor of Psychology at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, N6A 5C2, Canada. He holds two doctorates from the University of London (PhD and DSc) and has published over 150 scientific articles and six books, including a best selling introductory psychology textbook. His latest book, *Race, Evolution and Behavior*, was recently published by Transaction Publishers (1995).

Alien Arithmetic

Continued from page 15

of the family is HIV-positive, the family could also be offered free housing, heating and legal advice, be excused from paying road tax on cars, and have immediate access to drug treatment programmes. HIV-positive families arriving in Britain are given housing accommodation within weeks. One 39 year-old Dublin father of two and his wife were provided with a three bedroom semi-detached house by Birmingham's Adullan Housing Association just five weeks after arriving. Other diseases may be brought by illegal immigrants, to be treated at our expense. Dr. Bobbie Jacobson, Director of Public Health for East London and the City Health Authority, writing in the *Hackney Gazette* (1 June 1995) indicated the scale of just two recently imported health problems, involving diseases which require life-long treatment and care: "At least 450 people living in the City and Hackney have either sickle cell disorder or thalassaemia, and that

across the East End as many as 25,000 people are carriers".

So how much does the ERI cost the taxpayer annually? More research into the scale of the problem is urgently needed. In a worst case scenario, unemployment costs may approach £10 billion per annum and housing costs may approach several billions. If we add on health, education, family allowances and social security, law and order, etc then anything up to £20 billion per annum is quite possible. We all pay for this – in particular pensioners who now receive £8 billion less each year, after the severance of the link with average earnings.

On the continent our colleagues are starting to take the ERI seriously. In Holland, asylum-seekers can be heard and issued with deportation orders within 24 hours. Belgium is contracting private firms to escort unwanted foreigners back to their own countries in what has become a profitable business. In France the police are not afraid to enter churches where economic refugees are waiting. What about politicians in Britain?

With the notable, and slightly unexpected exceptions of Michael Heseltine and David Mellor, who in 1991 were pushing for Britain to withdraw from the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees (*Independent*, 20 September 1991), and more recently Winston Churchill and Ann Widdecombe, silence prevails.

One possible solution comes from an unlikely source – *The New Statesman*, one of whose writers discovered that by means of paras 17 and 25, schedule 2, part 2 of the 1980 Social Security Act, in conjunction with para 42 of the Immigration Act 1971, a new criminal offence is created – the failure to maintain and accommodate dependents without recourse to public funds (article by Amrit Wilson, 29 May 1981). For this as for other criminal offences, people who are not patrials can be deported. Anything from claiming social security benefit to using the NHS could fall into this category. It should be implemented immediately, as a means of ameliorating this unquantifiable but clearly enormous problem. □

CHANGE FROM WITHIN

Dear Sir,

"Is there life beyond the Conservative Party?" asks Stuart Northwood in your last issue. Undoubtedly there is, but it is one without power and with only marginal influence. Fragmenting the Right plays straight into the hands of liberals inside and outside the Conservative Party.

Millions of traditional Conservatives are currently alienated from the Party. Change can only be effected from within, not by sniping from the sidelines. It is a political fact of life that both major parties are made up of coalitions of interests. An ideological left-wing Socialist, or a right-wing Conservative Party cannot win enough votes to exercise power.

In the real, as opposed to the ideal world, politics is about compromise and consensus. What dirty words, what shabby actions, for the ideologically pure!

Dennis Keighley,
Enfield.

COUNTRYSIDE CONSCIOUSNESS

Dear Sir

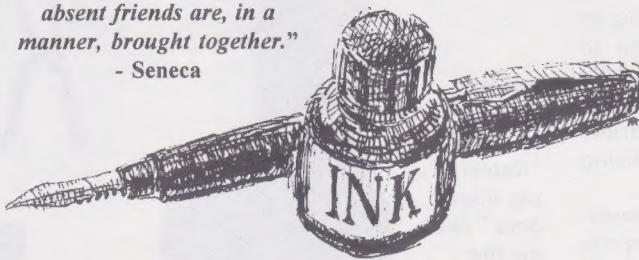
I read with disgust the vicious *Observer* attack on *Right NOW!*, yet was glad to see that your patrons have maintained their support for the magazine.

For years now *The Observer*, along with its ideological sister-papers *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, has relentlessly denigrated every Right-of-centre Conservative pressure group, often using hysterical language. No doubt the aim of their tactic is to cause discomfort to leading members of these groups, especially if such individuals have sensitive jobs or are studying at Leftish universities and colleges.

But we should never be prepared to accept *Observer-Guardian* lies and bullying, or their lectures in what is, or is not, politically acceptable. After all, what do you read when you open these newspapers apart from cosy profiles of Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness and articles which attempt to excuse ANC 'necklacing' campaigns? Thankfully, we have the ideal place in which to put *The Observer* - the dustbin.

On another note, congratulations on the pro-countryside stance taken in the last issue. (I refer to the piece by the Green Party's Bill Hughes and the

"It is by benefit of letters that
absent friends are, in a
manner, brought together."
- Seneca



Write to: The Editor, *Right NOW!*
BCM Right, London, WC1N 3XX.

Editor's Note: The Editor regrets that he cannot reply to all correspondence individually, or in as much depth as it often deserves. Please bear in mind that we are always pleased to receive news clippings (properly identified and dated) for information purposes or for use in *Vignettes*, and articles and letters for possible publication.

rhapsodic 'Summer Morning in the Cotswolds'.) It is necessary to educate the Conservative Party into realising that conservatism stands for more than just privatisation, roads and economics. Land, community and nation were once indissoluble elements of the Party's thinking and we need to awaken a 'countryside consciousness' if Britain is to retain a vital part of its identity.

RN is the only Tory journal which takes an interest in the symbolism of rural Britain, as well as the hard politics of the environmental question. I look forward to more greenery and views from church towers in future editions. And a final plea. Could we have more of those civilised cookery pieces from your wonderful writer Amanda Graham? A true Conservative must give thought to his stomach!

P Gibbs,
Bromley,
Kent.

INTO THE MIRE

Dear Sir

Having absorbed the contents of the latest edition (issue 12) of *Right NOW!* I was prompted to browse through previous issues, right back to issue 1. It was depressing to realise how much deeper into the mire of EU federalism we have sunk since the autumn of 1993. It must surely be clear to the meanest intelligence that Britain is now governed in all matters important to the nation's well-being, by a conglomeration of foreigners.

A nation is not just a motley collection of individuals who just happen to be living in the same bit of territory. A nation has a soul, a shared experience of events and traditions over

centuries, which has moulded them into the people they are. The British were such a nation. But for the last forty years, our children have been deliberately denied the knowledge of their own history, and the proper use of their own rich English language. Contemporary writers, in recognition perhaps of their own inadequacies, take pleasure in shredding the reputations of our dead heroes, mocking their sacrifices for the ideal of nationhood.

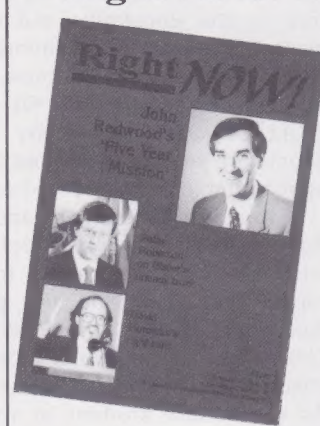
As P Gibbs points out, we now have the prospect of the United Kingdom being divided into three separate countries again, (so much for the previous referenda). I believe that the present Scottish and Welsh agitation for separation is being incited by federalists, with the aim of making us an even weaker influence in Europe.

Patricia D Watts,
London, SE2.

HALF OPEN EYE

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How to justify capital punishment

A N Academic sets out the watertight case for the ultimate deterrent

It is well known, from poll after poll, that around 70% of the British population favours the reintroduction of capital punishment. Yet the so-called representatives of the people have also made it clear that they have no intention of respecting the people's prudent and persistently expressed desire. Various reasons might be adduced as to why our politicians lack the moral courage to take this most necessary measure; but it is my intention here to concentrate on the most important one — that perhaps they lack the courage because they lack the conviction.

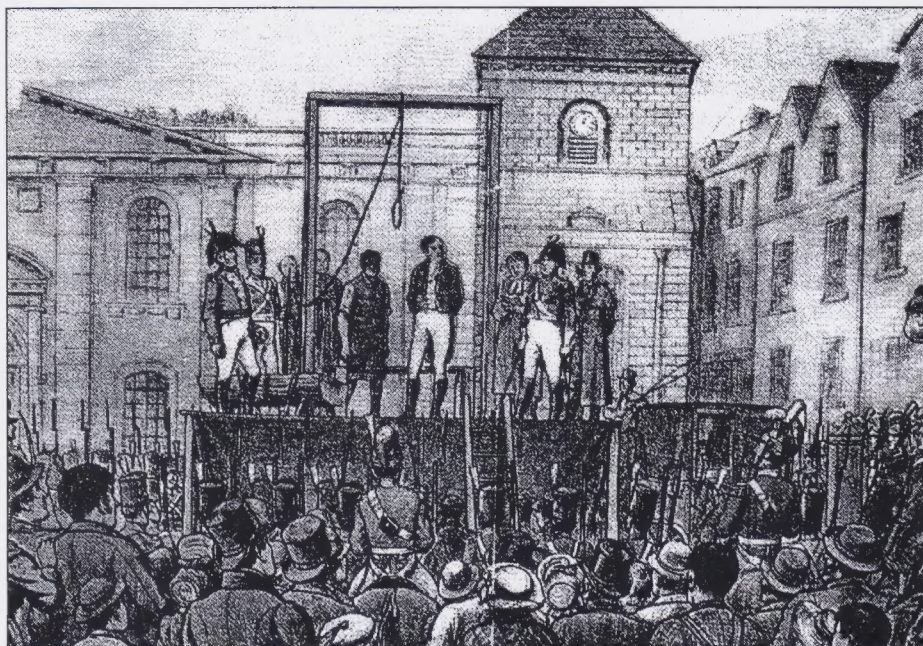
That they lack the conviction is itself scandalous, because the case for capital punishment is not merely intellectually respectable, but irrefutably logical, as I will try to show in an informal dialectic between a supporter and an opponent.

First, the supporter must ask his opponent whether he believes in the concept of punishment at all. Either the opponent does or he does not. If he does not, the argument ends there, since the opponent has stated an absurd position. Should no one ever be punished for anything? If he does, then the supporter must ask him, secondly, whether the State ever has the right to punish an individual, through due judicial process. Either he agrees or he does not. If the latter, again the opponent has stated the absurd. After all, if punishment is sometimes permissible, it would be contrary to morality and common sense that it should never be carried out by the State, after due process.

If the opponent does believe the State has the right to punish, the supporter can now ask, thirdly: Does the opponent believe that some punishments are worse than others? There is no alternative here, since the opponent could not seriously opine that, say, ten years in jail is not worse than a £100 fine or a good behaviour bond. He must say yes, then, and the supporter can move to the next step.

Fourthly, the supporter must ask whether there is such a thing as the *worst possible punishment*. Again, the opponent is obliged to say yes; surely there is something which is the worst possible thing that can be done to another person. If the opponent *does* say no, then the burden of proof is on him to show the possibility of an infinity of punishments, each worse than the one immediately lower in the hierarchy.

Fifthly, the supporter must ask his opponent: Does he believe in the principle of proportionality, ie, that the punishment must fit the crime? Now as Aristotle pointed out, this does not mean that punishment should be in kind. 'An eye for an eye' does not mean that a rapist should be raped, or that a fraudster should allow himself to be defrauded. It means simply that punishment should in some way match, in gravity, the



The execution of Robert Emmet, Thomas Street, Dublin, 20th September 1803. Is there any reason why his successors in today's IRA should not share the same fate?

crime committed, whatever the punishment be. This is a standard and essential part of sentencing procedure, and without it there would be arbitrary tyranny. So it should not take many examples to convince the opponent of this, if indeed he needs convincing.

Now, the supporter must take the sixth step, and ask his opponent whether there is such a thing as the worst possible crime. Could the opponent doubt this any more than that there is a worst possible punishment? Again, choice of example should do the job of persuasion. What about the crimes committed by Hitler or Stalin? Or massive drug-dealing? Or blowing up a plane full of innocent people? Not just liberals, but any right-thinking persons must now be convinced that there is something, indeed that there are many things which are the worst possible that one human being can do to another.

One must now make some logical deductions and tackle one further matter. If there is a worst possible punishment, and a worst possible crime, and given the principle of proportionality, it follows that the worst possible crime deserves the worst possible punishment. The further matter to tackle concerns what the worst possible punishment is.

It becomes clear that being put to death is the worst possible punishment, since death is the greatest possible evil, and the worst punishment simply is the infliction of the greatest evil. The opponent is now hoist with his own petard, since one of the objections to capital punishment to which he will appeal, namely death's finality, and what this means for the innocent man put to death, shows that

he himself believes death to be the greatest evil, and capital punishment the worst punishment.

But before dealing with that and other objections, we must sum up. If death is the greatest evil, then capital punishment is the worst punishment. But since the worst crime deserves the worst punishment, the person who commits the worst crime deserves to be put to death. Since there is a worst crime (it is irrelevant just what that crime might be), the supporter can now rest his case, having proven to his liberal opponent that there is at least one crime which merits death. And that is how to justify capital punishment.

Dealing with objections

Let me conclude with advice on how to handle a few of the objections the opponent is most likely to raise. But first I must emphasise that the above reasoning is unassailable. The premises are all true, and the conclusion follows by strict logic. So the supporter knows in advance that any objections his opponent might raise must be flawed; he need only look for the flaws.

The opponent objects that an innocent man might be executed, which would be a terrible evil. The supporter must reply by taking the point and then qualifying. It would be a grave injustice, and so an evil, if there were no due process. But it is essential to any system of justice that there be due process. There would not be due process if a judge intentionally condemned an innocent man to death or if a judge negligently did so. But the possibility of an innocent man's

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How to Justify Capital Punishment

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being punished in either case must be eliminated as far as possible in any system of justice, whether it provides for capital punishment or not.

To the extent that the British system fails in either of the two ways (and it does), it is to be condemned and repaired. But where an innocent man is punished, albeit after due process, the system is not to be condemned. Otherwise the absurd and dangerous conclusion would follow that the entire administration of justice should be suspended until even the merest possibility of a wrongful conviction is eliminated. Since this will never happen, the opponent would be committing himself to the permanent cessation of the legal system.

What about the finality of death mentioned above? At least with other punishments, compensation for wrongful conviction is possible, but you cannot compensate the dead. The reply the supporter can make to this is to express doubt that one really can be compensated for, say, thirty years spent as an innocent in prison. Should long prison sentences then be abolished as well? But, goes the opponent's rejoinder, at least something can be done — an apology, a sum of money; whereas you cannot apologise to the dead, and they cannot spend the money.

The reply is to ask whether the opponent believes in life sentences without parole, where life means life — as it does not in the

current system, of course. If he reflects (say, on Myra Hindley), he will agree that such sentences should be available. But nothing can be done to compensate the innocent who dies in gaol, so he should concede the risk that some innocents will always go uncompensated. If he does not take the point, then he must be asked why he believes the possibility of compensation for the victim of wrongful conviction should be an essential part of the legal system anyway. Why is a posthumous pardon insufficient? Why is compensation and apology to the innocent's family (if he has one) insufficient? The burden of proof, again, is squarely on the opponent to make out his case, which is a difficult task.

Another objection: capital punishment is just State-sanctioned murder. So if murder is to be condemned, how can capital punishment be justified? The question now is whether every killing is a murder — which it is not. There is murder, manslaughter of various kinds, accidental killing, and so on. And, adds the supporter, there is capital punishment. What his opponent is really saying is simply that capital punishment is wrongful killing, only using the epithet murder. But in order to avoid the charge of merely repeating his disapproval in the face of the above argument, he must base it on something else, perhaps a disapproval of all taking of human life. Then so be it. Let the opponent make out his case against all killing; let him justify, say, a Buddhist ethic of reverence for all life. But the supporter can

be confident, for if the argument I produced above is sound, the task will be impossible.

The opponent objects that execution is cruel and unusual punishment. If the above argument is sound, how can execution be inhumane? By definition it cannot be. Does this mean that the supporter should allow for painful execution? No, it does not. Death is the greatest evil. Within that species there exist sub-species; painless death is the least bad death, and agonising death is the worst. They are all varieties of the greatest evil, but some varieties, if inflicted by the State, might indeed be cruel and unusual, and hence wrong. Whether painful execution is *ever* justified, however, is another topic altogether, that cannot be explored here.

Finally, what if the supporter opposes abortion? Is he a hypocrite? The charge is often levelled, and it is baseless. Not all supporters oppose abortion, so the objection is *ad hominem*. But if the supporter does oppose abortion, he need only point out that the child in the womb is an innocent human being; the capital offender is not. The wrongness of killing applies to the killing of the innocent, which excludes capital punishment.

As suggested earlier, it is a scandal that our politicians do not seek to reintroduce capital punishment. It is a greater scandal that this is partly explained by the myth that capital punishment is intellectually discreditable. Armed with the above argument, they now have all the equipment they need to disabuse themselves, and the liberal establishment, of this delusion. □

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